

University of Bombay

GUJARÂTÎ LANGUAGE
AND
LITERATURE

PRESENTED BY

...Shri. K. M. Thacker...

BEING THE
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N. B. DIVATIA, B.A. (BOM.)

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TO

MY REVERED *GURU*

SIR RÂMAKRISHNA GOPÂL BHÂNDÂRKAR, K.C.S. I.

M. A., PH. D., LL. D.

HON. M. R. A. S.

I DEDICATE

WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION

THIS HUMBLE WORK

THE FRUIT OF STUDIES INSPIRED BY HIS TEACHING

PREFACE

THESE Lectures were delivered by me under the Bombay University endowment called the WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES. The lectures, seven in number, were spread over a period of two months (3rd December 1915 to 11th February 1916). Lectures I, II, III and IV were fully written out before delivery, while Lectures V, VI, and VII were delivered from copious notes, which have been expanded now. Lecture IV grew so much in size during this process that it has had to be divided into three sections, and eventually the whole work has to be cut up into two volumes; the Introduction being reserved for the second volume. The first volume includes Lectures I, II, III and the three sections of Lecture IV. The second volume will comprise Lectures V, VI, VII; which treat the following subjects —

| Lecture | Subject |
|---------|--|
| V | History of Gujarāṭi Language. |
| VI | Gujarāṭi Literature—A Historical sketch. |
| VII | The future tendency of Gujarāṭi Language and Literature. |

and Introduction to the two volumes.

It is expected that the second volume will be out in less than a year from now.

The study of the Indian vernaculars from the philological point of view has attracted the serious attention of scholars in the West comparatively recently. The late Dr. Tenzoni, whose untimely death is a great loss to philological scholarship, pursued this subject especially with reference to Gujarāṭi and Māraṭhī with remarkable zeal, acumen and insight. (I had the privilege of corresponding with him, exchanging views on our favourite subject, and, but for his premature end, we expected to meet and compare notes on the subject of our common interest; Gujarāṭi philology).

In the lectures I now place before the scholar world, I have made an attempt, humble though it be, to deal with the position of the Indian Vernaculars Gujarātī in particular in the light of the general principles of comparative philology, showing how these principles have governed the evolution of these vernaculars, and how their individual growth was guided by special laws. How far I have succeeded in my task which was to me a labour of love, is for those, who are competent, to judge in this matter.

I cannot conclude without expressing my sense of gratitude towards the Syndicate of the University of Bombay for sanctioning the publication of these lectures under the auspices of the University and for undertaking the responsibility of the expenses for the printing and publication of the same.

I must also thank two young friends, Mr. Sanmukhlal J. Pandya B.A., and Mr. Manjula I. Yajnik, B.A. for preparing the Index of this volume which involved great labour and sacrifice of time.

I am also indebted to the proprietor of the Gujarātī Printing Press for the unfailing courtesy and convenience given to me at every step in the tiresome work of printing these lectures; nor must I forget to mention with gratefulness the humble printers who submitted patiently and with readiness to all my exacting directions requiring constant alterations in the "copy" from time to time.

Bandra (Bombay) }
August 1921. }

N. B. DIVATIA.

NOTE —

Several references to articles &c. published after these Lectures and certain discussions subsequent to them have been added in the course of printing these lectures. They are admitted anachronisms so far.

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| Number of <i>Utsarga</i> | Subject of <i>Utsarga</i> | Page of Pages |
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|--|
| A. Arabic | L. S. I. Linguistic Survey of India |
| Ap. } Apabhramśa | L. G. Low German |
| Apabhr. } | M. Marāṭhī |
| Arm. Armenian | Mār. Mārvadī |
| A. S. Anglo-Saxon. | M. E. Middle English |
| A. V. Atharva Veda | M. L. G. Middle Low German |
| Av. Avasta | Mugdhiv. Mugdhāva bodha |
| Ā. Bangālī | Ankika |
| Dist. District | "Notes" (Tessitori-) "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthani." |
| Eng. English | O. Oriya |
| F. French | O. (with languages), old |
| G. } Gujarātī | O. F. Old French |
| Guj. } | O. W. R. } Old Western Rājasthani |
| Guj. (to Guj. Śālipatra), Gujarāt | O. W. R. j. } |
| Ger. } German | P. Panjābī |
| Germ. } | P. } |
| Gk. } Greek | Per } Persian. |
| Gr. } | Pers. } |
| Goth. Gothic | Pa. Pālī |
| H. Hindi | Pr. } |
| Ind. Ant. } Indian Antiquary | Prak. } |
| Ind. Antiq. } | Prkr. } |
| Ioterm. Intermediate (formation). | Prakr. } |
| It. Italian. | Pr. Gr. Prākṛit grammar. |
| J. A. S. Beng. N. S., Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series | Prāk. Laksh. Prākṛit Lakṣhaṇa |
| J. B. B. R. A. S. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society | Pr. Prak, Prākṛit Prakāśa |
| J. R. A. S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society | Pt. Portuguese |
| Kan. Kanarese | Rik Prīt., Rik. Prātīśakhyā |
| Lat. Latin | Rt. root |
| | Rn. Rīgveda |
| | S., Sindhi |

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| S. | } Sanskrit | V. S. Vikrama Samvat |
| Sans. | | Ved. Vedic |
| Sk. | | का० प्रपा० अध्या०; काण्ड, प्रपा |
| Skr. | | अध्याय. |
| St. Hê. | } Siddha H e m a- | वृ. का. दो. वृहत् काव्यदोहन |
| St. Hêma. | | सि हे. सिद्ध हेमचन्द्र |
| Sp. Spanish | | √(as in √दाह), root |
| St. Stanza | | *Sign affixed to conjecture |
| Term., Termination | | forma |
| Tk. Taluka | | |

syllabus for the M A degree, the result of the masterly and persistent agitation carried on by the late M G R nads with an amount of tact zeal and ability which he alone possessed and knew how to bring into play But a more potent cause of this change seems to me to be the fact that the interest of western scholars was awakened to some extent by the efforts of pioneers in the investigation of the vernaculars like the late H H Dhruva who contributed some notable¹ papers to the congress of orient alists in the years 1891 and 1892 A D Since then learned *pandits* like Dr Tessitori have devoted themselves heart and soul to a study and exposition of some of our vernaculars, and the results of their research so far as they are placed before the public form an invaluable part in the materials for a scholarly study of our vernaculars In this connection I must not forget the grand effort of Sir George Grierson whose monumental work the Linguistic Survey of India with all the shortcomings inseparable from such an extensive undertaking must be hailed as an unequalled service to the cause of the Vernaculars

Our ancient traditional method of study considers at the threshold of all inquiry the question of *adhikāra* *Adhikāra* i.e. preliminary qualification the minimum of *sine qua non* to entitle one to enter upon the study of a particular subject There is more sense in this than may ordinarily be supposed For the purpose of our present study I believe the question of *adhikāra* may well be given the importance that is its due I emphasize this view because I have noticed a tendency for every man qualified or unqualified to pose if not as an authority certainly as one qualified to speak on the subject simply on the strength of Gujarati being his mother tongue The absurdity of such claims is obvious the elements of *adhikāra* for our present study that is the preliminary qualifications required then are a proper study of our vernacular language and literature a knowledge of Sanskrit and the Prkrit languages a certain amount of knowledge

1 Transactions of the Eighth and Ninth Congress of Orientalists

of Persian (with Arabic), and, last but not the least, a decent knowledge of the principles of philology and comparative method of study. I need not dwell at any further length on this point.

With these brief preparatory remarks I must now turn to an inquiry leading to our subject matter. At the start we must recognize the subtle nature of the object of our investigation,—I mean language itself. It is almost as subtle as, if not sometimes more subtle and elusive than, the material which the physicist or the chemist has to deal with in his laboratory. Words, their nature and their origin and their uses, as also the sound-formations constituting words, form a fascinating study, the very fascination of which furnishes a pleasant compensation for the number of disappointments which are strewn in the path of the student who undertakes this branch of research. Like the student of physical or chemical sciences, the student of language working in his linguistic laboratory, has to place under the microscope or put into the test-tube and hold it over his critical flame or examine with the help of re-agents peculiar to his science, words and formations; note, collate, reject and collect instances enough in quality or quantity for inductive generalization; or, it may happen on occasions, he catches a rare inspiration which reveals to him the truth by an intuitive flash rather than a laboured process of discursive reasoning. And, further, he is enabled to submit the object of this inspiration to a calm analysis which eventually justifies the intuition. Of course, an honest investigator, as already hinted above, must be prepared for occasional disappointments, if disappointments they can be called, when such analytical examination and the light thrown by collateral investigations compel him to give up the object of the first flash of what was believed to be inspiration, but which eventually turns out to be some fallacy disguised as inspiration. When he thus discovers that what he believed to be golden fruit has turned into mere ashes, the true investigator does not feel disheartened, but profits by his mistake, and pursues his course

further on correct lines till he is rewarded by a revelation of the truth

Another simple fact has also to be borne in mind by the student of philology. It is beautifully and concisely expressed in Kalidasa's well known simile वागर्थविवसृक्तौ as applied to God and his Power. I mean the inseparable nature of language and thought. They jointly constitute one fact which is like the leaf of a book, its two pages constituting the whole, they themselves being mutually inseparable. They are a single phenomenon with two aspects. We cannot think without shaping our thoughts in some language or other, (the mental condition where 'sensation, soul and form' melt into one being quite a different inward experience—one wherein "Thought is not"), and we cannot talk without breathing life into our words. We are not concerned with some people who can talk without thinking, such men are too often met with in life. But for our scientific purposes the fact stands that we cannot speak without thinking. This double nature makes the study of languages and their history specially attractive, for we have to deal with objects instinct with spirit, and not with dead carcasses. Thus Kalidasa's simile shows a special significance when अर्थ is represented as a symbol of the Great Spirit and वाक् a symbol of the potent manifestation of that spirit.

It is outside the sphere of our present subject to go into the great question of the origin of language or the question whether there was one human language at the start and how it multiplied. This subject can be studied independently, and we must start with accepting the results of investigation into that subject as our postulates. We shall then regard it as proved that in the course of human evolution languages have followed certain processes of evolution and as a result we find a number of languages which can be connected together into groups of kinship. Sanskrit being one of this old family of languages our present inquiry will be principally confined to the question of the relation in which Gujarati stands to it, and, incidentally to other vernaculars of India.

In considering this question we must place before our mind the forces and influences that act on the formation and growth of languages and literature. These may be broadly placed under three principal heads —

A Historical conditions

B Geographical conditions,

and C Phonetic forces

Of these the last constitutes an intrinsic force and the first two indicate extrinsic forces, as will be at once perceived. We shall run over each of these three heads as quickly as possible. To take them in their order historical conditions should cover not only the political history of a people but the history of their evolution in their social, religious, industrial and many other aspects. All these contribute more or less to the influence on a people's language and literature. For it must be noted that history, to be real, must be the history of a people not of a country though it must be admitted, a country in this connection has no meaning without the people inhabiting it. Viewed in this light the ancient practice of naming countries after the names of the peoples dwelling therein, e.g. *विदर्भ*, *कोसल*, *कुसु* and the like acquires a special significance. A History of the English People therefore, is a correct title, whilst 'A History of England' would be a misnomer.

Well, then coming to Gujarati, can we rightly say that the Gujaratis are a people? I shall say—yes in a certain sense at least as giving them their own individuality and as affecting the course of their language.

At this point I should like to throw a glance at the view expressed by Max Müller on the question of history and language. He seems to oppose the view that it would be impossible to understand the life and growth of any language without an historical knowledge of the times in which that language grew up. He holds that the science of language can declare itself completely

*Max Müller's view—
the science of language
is independent of
history—the view ex-
amines the life of
a people expressed
in their language*

independent of history ² It appears to me that Max Müller assumed this bold attitude because of the special purpose he had in view, viz to show that the science of language was one of the physical sciences Severed from this purpose the above view can hardly be accepted as correct For what is history but the record of the life of a people? And what is language but one of the modes of expression of that life? This linking factor of life would be a sufficient justification for the view that history is one of the forces affecting the language of a people Let us take a simple instance the words पाद or पद् or in later usage चरण which all signify 'the foot or the leg' are used to denote 'a one fourth part' i.e. one line of a stanza and पाद again is further used to denote the fourth part of a chapter (as in the sub-divisions of Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*) and further simply—'a one fourth part' i.e. 'a quarter' Now, why was it that the idea of a one fourth was associated with these words meaning primarily 'a foot'? For human beings have only two feet or two legs The answer will at once spring up in your mind when you recall the pastoral and agricultural life our ancient ancestors led, when the quadrupeds especially the cow, were a most familiar sight of daily experience That familiarity naturally gave them the word पाद to express the idea of 'one out of four' ³ This word has come into our vernacular

2 'Lectures on the Science of Language'—Vol I Pp 81-85

3 Mr K H Dhruva, in his Gujarati paper on पदरचनाना प्रकार, read before the 2nd Gujarati Sahitya Parishad (Buddhipur 14 January 1908 pp 14-15) states that the sense—a line of a stanza was given to the words पद, चरण and पद् from the analogy of the human legs, as he assumes that in the *Itihas* the stanzas with two lines must have been earlier in point of time than those with three or four lines I do not suppose there is any basis for this assumption and the theory built on it Dr E Vernon Arnold in his work on 'Vedic Metre' (p 171 § 201, explanation IV) holds the view that *gāyatrī* (which has three verses i.e. 1 line) appears to be later than *anustubh* (which contains four verses to a stanza) Again it is more natural that men should take as bases for the expression of their ideas outward things and animals familiar to them than that they should look towards their own bodies for the purpose The case of the ten fingers being the primal basis of numeration is distinguishable 1 or

culars in the changed forms of पाय (H. and M.) and पा (G.), indicating purely the idea of a one fourth part when the sense of a leg is forgotten altogether, while पाय (G. and M.) derived from the same word पाद expresses simply 'o leg', or "a foot." (Compare the word पाद in Kōnnrese, signifying "o leg" as also "o quarter").

Then, again, to show that even the structural side of language is so often affected by the history of a people we have simply to notice the importation of foreign sounds into a language as a result of contact or commingling of one race with other races. Thus the infusion of Persian words into Gujarati (and other vernaculars) is a phenomenon of special interest, when foreign sounds like *z* are at first imported, then modified into those nearest to them, and, as recent attempts in Gujarati literature at pure Persianism show, are again re-adopted, *z* distinguishing dot or similar sign being introduced to mark the Persian sound.

Again take the sounds $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta$; it is believed that these lingual sounds did not belong to the primitive Aryan language, but

such an object would be obviously difficult to find outside one's body. Then again we are not compelled to assume that the technical sense of 'a verse of a stanza' was given to the word वर or चरण as early as the Vedic period. It is quite possible that this term was invented after the four-versed stanza established itself in Sanskrit literature on prosody. But we need not depend on surmises of this nature when we find this sense of a verse of a stanza (the number of verses being four) as far back as the Vedic literature. Hirukta 2.7, speaks of वर and distinctly gives वरुष as the primary sense and then gives the sense of 'a division', which is fully explained by the commentator as मन्वन्तृ च. The St. Petersburg Lexicon gives under वर and वर the meanings - (1) one-fourth (for the former word) and (2) one-fourth of a metre (for the latter word), and the *Ashtadhyayi* is referred to in the case of the former and the *Ashtadhyayi Prāhira* and the *Var* in the case of the latter.

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culars in the changed forms of पा (H. and M.) and पा (G.), indicating purely the idea of a one-fourth part, when the sense of a leg is forgotten altogether, while पाय (G. and M.) derived from the same word पाद expresses simply "a leg", or "a foot," (Compare the word पाद in Kanarese, signifying "a leg" as also "a quarter").

Then, again, to show that even the structural side of language is so often affected by the history of a people we have simply to notice the importation of foreign sounds into a language as a result of contact or commingling of one race with other races. Thus the infusion of Persian words into Gujarāṭī (and other vernaculars) is a phenomenon of special interest, when foreign sounds like z are at first imported, then modified into those nearest to them, and, as recent attempts in Gujarāṭī literature at pure Persianism show, are again re-adopted, a distinguishing dot or similar sign being introduced to mark the Persian sound.

Again take the sounds ङ, ञ, ण, ण; it is believed that these lingual sounds did not belong to the primitive Aryan language, but

such an object would be obviously difficult to find outside one's body. Then, again we are not compelled to assume that the technical sense of 'a verso of a stanza' was given to the word ण or ण as early as the Vedic period. It is quite possible that this term was invented after the four-versed stanza established itself in Sanskrit literature on prosody. But we need not depend on surmises of this nature when we find this sense of a verso of a stanza (the number of verses being four) as far back as the Vedic literature. Nirukta, 2-7, speaks of ण and distinctly gives ण as the ण i.e. primary sense and then gives the sense of "a division", which is fully explained by the commentator as ण etc. The St. Petersburg Lexicon gives under ण and ण the meanings - (1) one-fourth (for the former word) and (2) one-fourth of a metre (for the latter word), and the Atharva Veda is referred to in the case of the former and the *Asteya Brāhmaṇa*, the *Nirukta*, the *Prāśādhya*, etc. are referred to in the case of the latter.

were imported from Dravidian tongues.⁴ Even if we may hesitate to give acceptance to this theory in its full and widest extent, this much is certain, viz. that a number of words containing these lingual sounds and especially their double conjuncts are distinctly foreign to Sanskrit and an inflow from Dravidian languages.⁵

Then, again, the considerable number of words which cannot be traced to Sanskrit through any phonetic principles, and which found their way into Sanskrit or are present in all our Sanskrit-derived vernaculars, can only be explained on a historical basis by the contact which the Aryans came into with the aboriginal tribes of India. I may here add, with some diffidence but tentatively, a theory that, considering the successive influx of foreign tribes, several of them non-Aryan ethnically, that marks the history of India, it is not unlikely that the various languages which these foreign tribes brought with them may have contributed to the local languages their own share, and to this may be attributed many words vaguely classed as *Deśya* or aboriginal. Furthermore, to the same influence may perhaps be ascribed the non-Sanskrit pronunciation of the palatals ञ, ण, ण and ण which occurs in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī in the case of certain words and under certain circumstances, unless it be that, existing as it did in the Prākṛit period, it may be supposed to have come down since the beginning of the Prākṛits which are believed by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar and other great authorities to be spoken collaterally with Sanskrit. All the same, there being no evidence as to the exact nature of these sounds during the early Prākṛit period, it is permissible to hold that the non-Sanskrit sounds may have been introduced even into the Prākṛits by the foreign immigrants into India. But before any definite conclusion can be arrived at we must ascertain how these letters were sounded by those tribes, if we have any means of ascertaining it.⁶

1. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ninth Edition) XVIII, 787 c.

5. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar's views support this theory. (See his *Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp. 47-48).

6. For a more detailed discussion of this question see Lecture IV *infra*.

* Turning from the morphological to another aspect of language and its constitution, the influence of history on the language of a people will be manifest in the political and socio-political institutions of a country leaving their stamp on it. Thus for instance the feudal system has given to the English language a number of words of special significance which cannot be properly rendered into the language of peoples who have had no such institutions. Similarly, the ideals and ideas connected with the chivalry⁷ of the middle ages in Europe have given a vocabulary which cannot find an exact counterpart in other portions of the globe. Even in India, where, during the Rajput period of Rajasthan chivalry and political ascendancy, there existed a faint counterpart of the institutions of the West, this difficulty is sure to be experienced.

This factor of historical influence is most potently visible in the contact and commingling of races politically, socially, and religiously. Take the instance of Greece under the Roman Empire during the fifth century A. D.

"The inhabitants of Thrace and Macedonia were greatly diminished in number and began to lose the use of their ancient languages from their admixture with foreign races."

(*"Greece under the Romans"* by George Finlay. Everyman's Library—page 174)

The devastations of the northern invaders of the empire prepared the way for a great change in the races of mankind who dwell in the regions between the Danube and the Mediterranean. New races were introduced from abroad, and new races were formed by the admixture of native proprietors and colonies with

⁷ Chivalry and feudalism are here spoken of as apart, for as Schoffell warns us in his book on "Chivalry in English Literature," chivalry is not to be confounded with feudalism. "Feudalism was a form of social organism based on military principles. Chivalry was an ideal binding men together by participation in potent spiritual enthusiasm."

emigrants and domestic slaves Colonies of agricultural emigrants were introduced into every province of the empire Several of the languages still spoken in Eastern Europe bear evidence of changes which commenced at this period Modern Greek Albanian and Vallachian are more or less the representatives of the ancient languages of Greece Epirus and Thrace modified by the influence of foreign elements (*Ibid page 191*)

The Roman people now (i.e. during the reign of Justinian 527 to 565 A.D.) consisted chiefly of Greeks, but Latin seems to have been spoken in Illyricum and Thrace by a very numerous portion of the population Perhaps the original languages of these countries blended easily with Latin from being cognate tongues and soon began to form dialects which time has now modified into the Vallachian and Albanian languages of the present day (*Ibid page 203 n*)

This picture will easily remind us by way of analogy as well as contrast, of what happened in India to its languages during the numerous foreign immigrations in the pre Mahomedan period Almost a similar repetition of events occurred in India but with this modification that the inherent potency of the Aryan civilization as also the kinship of some of the immigrating races with the Aryan races in India saved the vernaculars from being utterly cut adrift from their mother languages Sanskrit and early Prakrits The hordes of Greeks Śakas Abhiras Kushanas Hephthalas Hūnas Gurjaras and others that poured into India during a period covering the centuries between the 4th century B.C. and the 6th century A.D. came to stay intermingle with and be lost into the vast population of India True they were not so overpowering in their might as to crush and wipe off the local institutions But it cannot be imagined to be possible that they should not to some extent impress their peculiarities on the people of the country And as it cannot be that they did not bring with them their own languages it is highly probable that even while adopting the languages of the countries in which they

eventually settled (as they very often adopted the local religion and other institutions), they, in their turn, also left some marks, not now clearly traceable, on the languages of those countries.

I have, on set purpose, excluded the Mahomedan period from the fore-going survey. The influence exercised on our vernaculars by the Mahomedan contact was different in nature and extent from that which the vernaculars received from the languages of previous immigrants. In their cases the races that came in mutual contact intermingled eventually, presenting a result like a chemical combination, whereas the Mussalman incomers, although they came to stay, remained unmixed with the Hindn population to a considerable extent, presenting a case of mechanical mixture. The consequence was that in spite of a copious addition to their vocabularies from the Persian and Arabic, the vernaculars maintained their *genus* unaffected by these two foreign tongues. The idiom, grammar, and the essential composition of our languages do not seem to have been perceptibly modified by the Mahomedan contact. Thus we find numerous Persian and Arabic words in Gujarati (and other vernaculars) as commonly current, e.g. गेहर, मजीक, अराज, नगर, अदरत, चिट्ठु, कुछ, बेगम, दरम, कलम, कानी, दरवाजा, दरकार, गरज, घीमार, etc., etc., etc.

These are, however, but external infusions, not influencing the essentials of the language. Only one little word presents an exceptional case; the word के (= 'that', conjunctive particle), may possibly have come from Persian. We now use it frequently, if not always, in sentences like रामे सीताने वरुं के रहमे वनमां आवसो नाहे. The older word in the place of के would be जे from Sanskrit यन् which is still preserved as जन in forms of letters, bonds, and the like; e. g.

(1) जन लगय करण ए ते जे,

(2) हमागरण दनय जन

(from Sanskrit) हमाधराणि दया यन्

[In instance (1) before जत come certain introductory words as पूज्याराधे अनेक शुभ उपमा जोग तर्गिरूप थी—(अमुक)—जोग (जोगन्योग्य here stands for 'to', i e addressed to) The जत here begins abruptly without the preceding idea to be connected with the subsequent one. Such idioms are seen in other languages also for instance in English that heading paragraphs in memorials etc

In instance (2) some word like रखी आपुछ are to be understood before जत]

Marathi also has कीं and जे in similar use

(1) आपण सांगितलें कीं तें शक्य नाई

(2) अजें करितो ऐसा जे⁸

It is however equally possible to derive this Gujarati के from किम् the interrogative sense naturally veering round to the affirmative. Thus रामे कहु—किम् ? (i e शुकहु ?—what did he say? viz this) etc

Through this psychological step किम् may easily come to acquire the affirmative sense implied in के=that. It may, therefore be argued that the Persian derivation of के and the remarks based thereon must be taken with the reservation created by this very possible alternative derivation. This caution gains support from the fact that the Marathi word कीं is used under similar conditions and that it is marked with an *anusāra*, the remnant of the म in किम्⁹

The French equivalent for that' (conjunction) viz *que* (pronounced as /a) will also indicate the same conclusion as it is connected with Lat *quid* (= 'what', interrogative), and *quod* which carries amongst other senses the conjunctive sense in certain

⁸ This use of जे is confined to formal documents like petitions &c and कीं is the word used in current language

⁹ Dr Bhāndarkar derives के (Guj) from किम् through कक, कय-कज, (Wilson Philological Lectures, P 196) This would get rid of the *anusāra* and consequent difficulty. But how about the *anusāra* in the Marathi कीं? And the greatest fact is as will be seen further below the virtual absence of के and the presence of जे in pre-Mahomedan literature

circumstances, as well as an interrogative sense, the conjunctive sense being more extensively noticeable in post classical Latin than in classical Latin. The *qu* pronounced as *l* in French points to the probability of a similar pronunciation in Latin during some stage of its growth. And this was actually the case. "In several forms and words there was a tendency in classical Latin to convert the *qu* into the *l* sound. Cicero actually spelt *qu* as *o* (which in Latin was pronounced as *l*), in several words. *cum*, for instance, instead of '*quum*' (= whom). It is clear that 'the sound of *qu* was *lx* but it constantly lapsed into *l* in different forms of the same word and already in the days of classical Latin the *qu* of many a respectable member of the Latin vocabulary had commuted the inherited *qu* into the *l* sound and spelled as a *c*'¹⁰ On the other hand, it may be that the *lra* sound in the Sanskrit *क्व* (= where?) lost the *ra* in the variants (or rather the original) *क्विम्* etcetera. Any how, the above considerations may go to confirm the derivation of *કે* in Gujarati from the Sanskrit *क्विम्* and it may be contended, with some show of reason that we can safely abandon the theory of Persian influence in this case.

But there are arguments in favour of the theory of Persian influence which are likely to outweigh all the arguments given above. These may be briefly stated —

(a) In Sanskrit, at no stage of the evolution of the language do we find *क्विम्* or any interrogative pronoun used as a conjunction in the sense of 'that'. This conjunctive idea is expressed in Sanskrit by *यद्*—*इति*, or *यथा*—*इति* or simply by *यद्*.

This is really a curious fact especially when a comparative study of language shows such a use of the interrogative to be not at all uncommon. As we have seen above, in French the conjunctive particle *que* and in Latin *quod* have behind them the

¹⁰ All this information as regards Latin was kindly supplied to me by Professor N. S. Tikakhāy, Professor of Latin, Wilson College Bombay, and I have quoted almost *verbatim* from his letter to me.

interrogative idea. The Persian *le* (که) has also the double set of an interrogative pronoun and a conjunction, the former being really the principle underlying the latter. The same psychological analysis accounts for the Gujarati *કે* and Marathi *की* if they can be derived from the Sanskrit *क्विप्*, or even if they owe their existence to the Persian *le*. But the only drawback is that *क्विप्* in Sanskrit does not carry this double significance of an interrogative and a conjunctive. Can we then be justified in attributing to the Gujarati *કે* or the Marathi *की* the origin from the Sanskrit *क्विप्*? I doubt if we should be justified in so doing, unless it be that, although not used as conjunctive in Sanskrit itself, the word *क्विप्* was transferred into these vernaculars (as also in Bangali which also has *कि* = that) and pressed into their service to express the conjunctive sense. For such a theory, however, there is no warrant, as will be seen from reason (c) below.

(b) As just incidentally noted above under (a), the Persian *که* carries both the senses, interrogative as well as conjunctive. Johnson's Persian English Dictionary tells us as under—

کے *Ki* 11—who? what? which? . . . That .

ki is much used as an explanatory particle at the beginning of a sentence in passing from the narrative¹² to the very words used by the speaker as

mâlik 'abiderâ pûrsid ki avlâtu 'a : at chi gunâ mi gu'arad 'A king asked a certain holy man 'What? "How are thy precious hours spent?" It may therefore be rendered by "saying, namely, *videlicet*" *Hayrân mandand ki ayâ chî chî ast* 'They stood astonished, saying, 'oh! what is the matter?'

11 Really pronounced as *ke*

12 It must be observed that although the question given in the quotation is put in the direct construction, the word *ki* corresponding to the English 'that' (which in English is used only with the indirect or narrative construction) is put at the beginning of the sentence thus in Persian the use of this word does not appear, as in English, to change the construction into a narrative one. The Gujarati idiom also maintains the direct construction while using *કે*.

* It will be interesting to note here that the author of this Dictionary analyzes the conjunctive sense in almost the same manner as I have done, seeing behind it the interrogative idea. The only apparent difference is that he calls it an explanatory particle. But, while the final grammatical position is that of a conjunction, the analysis given by him goes at the root of the idea and shows why it is that the direct construction is preserved with this particle. It may also be remarked here that we can safely take this use of *ke* in Persian as equivalent to the conjunctive 'that' in as much as it is called *kāf-e-mārafat* i.e. the introductory, or connecting, or intermediary *kāf* (the letter *k*).

Lastly, (c) and this is the most important consideration—an examination of the older Gujarati literature before the Mahomedan influence established itself is bound to disclose the fact that *ke* in the sense of 'that' (conjunction) is not to be found in vogue. I shall only give a few typical quotations from such literature—

(1) અદ અમ્હ યત્ અહ્યા તનઝ નાઃ કિ પાવક કૃત યત્ (*It is worn out here*) આત્મના એ મહાન્ દુસહતર નિમદ ત્રિયતે ।

મદ પુછદ્ધ જત દંદ ચીતણિ । તનઝ । ગરીર વસત્ પાતક વીધઝ । જીણદ્ધ પાવકરી । આત્મારદિ રસત્ રોદિન્ન નિમદ વીજદ્ધ અહિ ।

(I from a Sanskrit translation of a Parsi Work, called *Ardu Girā* or *Ardu Viraf* with a translation of the same in the language current in Gujarat in those days).

I shall show in a subsequent lecture that this language of Gujarat belongs to a period shortly preceding V S 1500. The manuscript of the above work was copied in V S 1507 as is indicated by the colophon. This manuscript was shown to me by Mr. Behram Gur Anklesar at his residence at Santa Cruz in September, 1913.

The only expression in the above extract inviting our attention at present is મદ પુછદ્ધ જત and the word જત (from Sanskrit યત્) the *ke* of our present day Gujarati is used for 'that' here, not *ke*.

(2) ઝવર પુછે કે એસાએક પ્રશ્ન—૧૮૩

(3) તે કે પુછે કે આગરે એ સિ આપિ કે તેમ વિરેક ડિ ૧

(4) વધને બીર જે કે આગરે એ ડિ તેની વિગત કે તેમ ડિ ૧૮૩

(૫) કે એક કે એમને નદી ૩ વાળિ પડિ

- (6) જે મેં દીઠું જે પ્રધ્વીના ઓચ્છ સમદ
 (7) જુ કો વોલે જે વરોધીઆથી વરોધ પ્રવૃત્ત દાખ
 (8) જુ કોઈ એમ વેઢે જે રહુ તપા પાઢુ વીધુલે &c
 (9) વીજુ એ છે જે પાપના વર્ણીર સઘલિ કામનસ્ય ॥ ૦ ॥¹³

(From a Sanskrit translation of a Parsi work called *Slānda Gumanī Gajāra* with translation into old Gujarati)

Of the above instances Nos (2) to (5) are from a manuscript marked H9 by the editor it has no colophon and no date but the language of the Gujarati portion appears to belong to a period later than V S 1800. The language which in the previous centuries the Parsis appear to have faithfully accepted from the indigenous Gujarati appears here to have been more or less corrupted as is being freely done in the present times to a larger extent than this. Instances Nos (6) to (9) are from a manuscript marked K10 which preserves the language in a purer state but appears to belong to a period subsequent to V S 1750.

Note - Only in one place I find વે instead of જે in this latter manuscript જુ કોઈ એમ વેઢેલે કે etc. But from the fact that જે is used in numerous instances in this very manuscript, I am inclined to look upon this single instance of વે with distrust as an error of the scribe or some one else).

A Parsi Gujarati paper entitled *જગત મિતર (Jagat Mitr)* contains the following significant phrases —

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| (1) વહેવા લાગો જે (P 257) | | (3) હોવમ વીધો જે (P 48) |
| (2) વહીવલ જે (P 293) | | (4) દેહુ પારેઆમા આવલ જે (P 5) etc |

This belongs to A D 1859 and throws valuable light on this point.

Let us turn to Hindu Gujarati in the old literature in search of this વે. It must be remembered that this Gujarati literature conjunction (વે) will be difficult to find in poetry and we must therefore look into the

¹³ See pp 82 74, 75 76 78 of the Edition of the book named above, by Ervad Shrihari D Bharucha published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panch yet

*prose literature. This increases our difficulty, as the old literature abounds in poetry, not in prose which is generally rare. In poetry the poet will find it more graceful and consistent with the brevity of poetic diction to omit such conjunctive particles. Thus for instance, the poet prefers to say

કોણ વહે વાનઢો વૂઢો
વેવણુ ચોટ ન વાઢ (1)

rather than કોણ વહે વે or કોણ વહે જે વહાનઢો વૂઢો. For this reason I sought for instances in Parsi literature, furnishing as it does, independent evidence there being no possibility for that literature to be affected by any special school like the Jain school of old Gujarati literature. Besides that literature in the 15th and 16th centuries of the Vikrama era has closely followed the Hindu style of language and not taken liberties with the language such as are to be found in the Parsi literature of later periods. This enhances the value of the evidence furnished by the instances given above.

But we are not without our reward in a search into the Hindu Gujarati prose of the early times. A few passages are given below —

(10) તેદ મળી દેવતા આરાધી પાસા પામી મ્વર્ણધાઢ મરી જુગ્મ્હ પાઢુ ।
જે વે મમ્મનઢુ જીવદ તે પાઢુ સોનેદ મરિઢ ઢિઢ

(From Meru Sundara's પુણ્નમાઢ પ્રવરણ, date of copy V S 1629, quoted in the Introduction to *Narmada* P ૫)

Here we have to notice the negative fact that after મળી and the sentence that follows no conjunction is put. This was the practice in the old literature evidently —

તેને પિતાયે વણુ () તારો સ્વપર કરિયે ના પિતા દુ સો દેગામી વર
દુગ્ધુ રાજા વેઢે () આવળ મણુપને પેર દેઢ વરમા વેમ આંચે વ મનોરમે તે મિપ્પા
પરવો વન્યા વેઢે () ઘટલો વોળ () જેમે વનવપુરી જોઈ દોષ તને દુ વ
રાજા વેઢે () તેની માલ વેમ જણાયે વન્યા વેઢે () પુરમા પાઢ વેરવો

(Passage quoted as belonging to the 19th century of the Vikrama era by Narmadasankar, નર્મદોશ Introduction P ૬)

14. Lavatankar, a Nagar of Junagadh who died about 1837 A D

The gaps marked by me in this passage with brackets would in our days have been filled up by so many *કે*s

Note —the *કે* in *જે કે મહનડ્ જીપડ* is not the conjunction we are looking for. It is either due to a mislection for *જે વો* or the *કે* is a pronoun similar to *વો* (= *વોડ*).

(11) તેની ટોલ કરીને લોને શીલવ્યું તુ જઈને વેહેની જે વનવપુરીમ જોઈંછે

(From નર્મકોશ, the same passage as above belonging to the 19th century)

(12) એ મનોહરાનામા ગોપીજન છે તેહેને મંદિર વોઈ એક છીને ત્યા રાત્ય રમીને પ્રભુ પધારયા તે અન્ય છી સવન્ધના ચિન્હ જોઈને—તે છી વહેછે જે હે નાપ પર , જે ધીજી સ્નેની પલવા જે સગ્ગયા—&c

(From a 19th century passage cited in the નર્મકોશ, introduction, P ૪)

In an extract from Dayaram's prose commentary in his *Sat Dajârâm's prose-shewing an admixture of કે and જે* *Saigâ*, given by Mr Krishnalal M Javeri in his *Milestones in Gujarati Literature* (P 252), we find *કે* used as a conjunction instead of *જે* —

‘તે પોતાની સતી પ્રત્યે પોતાના બેહતાપતુ દુઃખ વહે છે *કે* અલી મારા વિરહની વ્યથા—etc”

Now the passage No (12) quoted above is also from Dayaram's commentary on his *Sat Saigâ* (stanza 180 there of¹⁵) It may seem difficult to explain the apparent inconsistency of the use of *જે* in that passage and of *કે* in this other one. If *કે* is not an error in the passage cited by Mr Krishnalal Javeri the natural inference seems to be that the conjunction *જે* was beginning to disappear when the 19th century was well advanced (Dayaram's period being V S 1828, birth to 1908 death) and that *જે* and *કે* were jostling each other the final result being in favour of *કે*. It may also be noted that in the early part of the present century even during the supremacy of *કે* the older conjunctive *જે* held sway in certain circles where the influence of Persian did not

15 પોરન પર પલકાન કિય અલિક સોઈ કિત રાગ ॥

પેણ પગિ વજ વીક નિક સાચિ કહો કલ્ય પ્રાગ ॥ (સતસેયા ૧૮૦)

reach or was actively resisted in consequence of quasi-religious scruples. Thus we find in the *वचनामृत*, which was evidently written some time after the death of Sahajānand Swāmi which occurred in Y. S. 1886, we find *जे* used invariably: e. g. (1) पढे मुक्तानन्द स्वामीये प्रभ पुढ्युं जे कामकोष &c.

(2) पढे श्रीजिमहाराज बोल्या जे हुं देह नहि etc , and so forth.

We need not speak speculatively regarding the *सत्तसेया* of Dayārām. A cursory glance at the *टीका* thereof shows *जे* freely used and *के* also fairly freely but less frequently.¹⁶ In some places (e. g. in the *टीका* on stanzas 97, 21, 58, 575, 645, 651) *के* is used more in correlation with *ए*, or *एम* or *हेतुं*, than as a pure conjunction; similarly *जे* is used in such correlation (See *टीका* on Stanza 159); e. g.

प्रेमहुं बर हेतुं अतुल्य छे के;
ते एम कहे छे के;
हेतुं निभे न मछे के;
एम कहे छे जे.

However, such correlation is implied even when apparently absolute use of the conjunction is made. *रामा बोल्या के* belong really *गुजा एम बोल्या के*.

I must, however, point out that in the case of the extract given by Mr. Krishnalal Javeri the extract (*टीका* on stanza 245) from the 1th edition of the poems of Dayārām published by the "Gujarati Press" has *जे*, whereas *के* is found in the 3rd edition. The abundant use of *जे* as well as *के* in this *टीका* gives us sufficient guarantee against any serious doubts regarding the synchronous

¹⁶ *जे* is found in the *टीका* on stanzas 17, 27, 30, 73, 78, 83, 87, 88, 90, 96, 99 (two places), 100, 106, 144, 152, 153 (two places), 154, 157, 158, 172, 176, 182 (two places), 229, 232, 242, 245, 276, 284, 287, 293, 534, 545.

के is found in the *टीका* on Stanzas 87, 97, 108, 171 (at three places in one sentence), 182, 224, 227, 230, 322, 584 (two places), 587, 721 (two places).

These are picked up at random and do not exhaust the list.

use of જે and કે in Dayārām's time. It must be noted, however, that the ટીકા ostensibly bears the name of Raachhod (according to a note by Kavi Narmadāsankar—See P. 277 of the 4th Edition), and of Vallabhadas according to the text as given at P. 448 of the 4th edition; whereas since Kavi Narmadāsankar's time the belief is held that Dayārām himself wrote the ટીકા. But this dubious state does not affect the main issue, for the ટીકા belongs to the time of Dayārām in any case.

We have thus enough evidence to conclude that the conjunction કે was not in use in old Gujarāṭī literature; Conclusion કે not found in old Gujarāṭī, unaffected by Persian influence, જે being the older term; કે brought in by Mahomedan contact. it was represented either by a blank hiatus as in sentences like વળ્યા વેદે () પુરમાં પાટ ફેરવો, or by the word જે, the Gujarāṭī descendent of the Sanskrit यन्, which in Sanskrit served as a conjunctive like 'that'. This use of જે still survives in stray idioms confined to the language peculiar to ladies, who have out-lived modern linguistic changes; thus in મરું જે (= મરું જાણું જે) we find this old જે; and in શું છે જે? we have the same conjunctive જે, the sentence being left incomplete idiomatically, the unsaid portion being understood to represent some such ideas as (શું છે જે) મારા બાઈને થમકારોછો? or the like.

All this inquiry brings us to the following conclusions:—

- (1) That the Gujarāṭī conjunction કે did not flourish in the literature unaffected by Persian influence;
- and (2) That it can be derived from the Sanskrit यिम्, but in as much as यिम् was never used as a conjunction in the Sanskrit language, and the surest test is that supplied by actual use in a language, જે was the older conjunction, and કે was brought in by the contact with Mahomedans and the influence of the Persian language.

It may be that the Persian કે itself was allied to or even derived from the Sanskrit यिम्, but it was necessarily in the interrogative sense only, the conjunctive use unknown in Sanskrit.

was entirely a new feature, and therefore in that new aspect could only have come from Persian.¹⁷

Let us look at some other vernaculars. Bangālī has *कि*, meaning 'that' as well as 'what'. But even now it uses *जे* also. In a story called 'Tyāga' written by Mr. Nagendra Nāth Sarkar which appeared in the magazine, *Pravāsi*, of Kārtika 1322 (Bangālī Samvat), at P. 76 we find the following — कठ हट्ट एइ ये (=जे) &c. (कट्ट थयुं ए जे &c.) (This *जे* here is, however, not quite an absolute conjunction, but a correlative pronoun answering to the foregoing ए).

Śuddhī has *त* as well as *जे*, of which the former may have come from Sanskrit *तत्*=that (demonstrative), the demonstrative sense of 'that' is at the root of the conjunctive sense in English.

In Marāṭhī the conjunction *की* is not found in the older literature. In *ज्ञानेश्वरी*, the oldest classical Marāṭhī work, *जे* is invariably used and *की* not at all. Ekanāth and Śrīdhara began to use both *जे* and *की* and these both seem to have begun to be used commonly in Śivāji's times. Later on *जे* disappeared. Moropant rarely uses it. At present *जे* is used only by Puranis and old-fashioned persons.¹⁸

17 This kind of vicarious inflow of words is not unusual. Take the word *सवार* (=a horseman). It came, and is by some, derived from the Sanskrit *अश्वार*: through its possible Prākṛit form *असवारो* (further stage *असवरो*), and, the unaccented first syllable being dropped, *सवार*). But there is hardly any doubt that *सवार* has come into Gujarāt direct from Persian even though the Persian language may have been indebted to Sanskrit for that word, in as much as *असवार* is another form of the word in Persian. The only difficulty is that *सवार* in Persian, as also in Gujarāt, signifies any rider,—horse-rider, camel rider (*शुहरसवार*, Persian), etc. However, this can be got over by the possibility of the primary sense (horse-rider) having given place to the secondary sense of "a rider" generally.

18 I am indebted to Rao Bahadur V. M. Mahiyani, through Mr. D. G. Pādhye, for this valuable information.

I may here hazard a conjecture that this influence of Persian came in all probability through the Marathi during the Maratha rule in Gujarat. The diary of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa abounds in *कै* as a conjunction e.g.

के imported from the Persian है but through an impetus given by the Marathi कै itself a result of Persian influence

(1) केदारजी जिंदे महादजी जिंदे याचे नावे सनद *कै* &c
(A D 1762-63)

(2) देशमुख व देशपांडे नादगौडा परगणे हरिहर याच नावे चौल *कै* &c
(A D 1764-66)

(3) येविशीं मोरूम हरदू गावच यास *कै* &c

(It is well known that a large number of Persian words, especially in connection with the correspondence and writings of administration flowed freely into the language of the wielders of Marathi power. Why the most common word *आणि* (= and) has given place to *व* in all official correspondence. The words *दरदू* (the said two each of the two) in instance (3) are strongly Persian as will be observed at once)

(In instance (3) the blank between *यास* and *कै* shows an interesting idiom where the word signifying 'an order, 'a command, a request' or the like is omitted probably, in the origin for the sake of official convenience and brevity thus leaving *कै* without the preceding main link)

The Maratha rule established itself in Gujarat with the capture of Baroda in 1781 A D (V S 1790), and we find the conjunction *जे* still supreme in the early part of the 19th century V S. This is quite natural for it would require some 3 or 4 decades of political rule to impress linguistic features on a country.

However the word adopted by Gujarati is *व* (direct as it were from the Persian *و*) and not *कै*. Could it be then that the impetus came from Marathi and the word actually adopted was taken direct from Persian? I leave the guess in this state of uncertainty.

We have dwelt rather at great length on this part of our inquiry. Accepting then the importance of the influence of

historical conditions, we may take a hurried survey of the history of Gujarati so far as it was calculated to influence the Gujarati language and literature. This, however, and the remaining portions of the theme proposed at the outset in this lecture must now be held over for my next lecture.

NOTES

(a) Pp. 6 and 7 and note

पाद, as a division of a treatise (ग्रन्थपाद), has always been used to denote one of four divisions. A bold departure from, if not an unwarranted outrage on, this rational tradition is found in Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛita-Sarvaśa* which he divides into twenty *pādas*. We have not yet met with a work with a hundred *pādas*, claiming possible justification in the analogy of a centipede!

(b) Pp. 8 and 11

A notable feature in the way of historical influence is to be found in the wide sound of *ṛ* and *ṛi* peculiar to Gujarati and Marathi especially, and modified in Marathi and Hindi, (as in *वृ* (enmity) *मृ* (mole+see), and the like). This sound, originating in the post Apabhramśa formations containing *ṛ* and *ṛi*, can be regarded as accelerated by the influence of Persian and Arabic (from words like *गदर-गि* (Guj) as in *गदगद*, and *कर-कम* (Guj) = an agreement). This feature will place a reservation on the general remark that Indian vernaculars maintained their *genus* unaffected by Persian and Arabic. (See Lecture II *infra* for an indication of this aspect). For a detailed discussion of this question see Lecture IV *infra*.

LECTURE II.

*Historical and other Forces working on Language.**A Survey of the History of Gujarat.*

As promised at the conclusion of the last lecture, I begin with a brief survey of the History of Gujarât, so far as it was calculated to influence the language and literature of the country. Valuable information will be found in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol I part 1, which deals with the History of Gujarât. I call salient points from it useful for the purpose of our inquiry. Leaving the very ancient Yâdava period I start with the Mauryan

and Greek rule. The supremacy of the Maurya
The Mauryas and the Greeks Chandragupta extended over Gujarât, and this Maurya rule lasted up to the end of the reign

of Samprati. This covers a period of about a century and a quarter from 319 to 197 B C. It need not be pointed out that Pali appears to have been a wide spread language during this period. The Mauryas were followed by the Bactrian Greeks B C 180 to 100 of whom Menander (Milinda) is a well known and familiar name. The coins of these rulers were in Bactro-Pali.

The Kshatrapas appear on the scene then, and
The Kshatrapas their sway covers the period from 70 B C to 398 A D. The Kshatrapas were foreigners no doubt, they belonged to the Śaka race—but they very soon became converts to one or other form of the Hindu religion and assumed Indian names. Their coins are in Bactro Pali language.

An interesting incidental feature noticed in the history of the Kshatrapas may be noted here. Rudradaman
The Yaudheyas the fourth western Kshatrapa who flourished from A D 143 to 158, is stated in a Girnar

rock inscription to have exterminated the tribe of Yaudheyas. These Yaudheyas, says the writer in the Gazetteer, appear to have had a democratic constitution like the Malavas. He claims for

have had an antiquity of nearly ten¹ centuries, when we find many a Rajput clan still in existence leaving a number of centuries behind them, for example, the Gohils, and Parmars and Chohāns and the like. The only difference is and it is a striking difference—that while these Yandheyas are spoken of as members of a compact organic tribe, the present day Rajputs are but diffuse and scattered links of the old chains. Another consideration may also go to support the probability of a tribal organism lasting for centuries together. Panini mentions in the same *Sūtra* as the one wherein he speaks of the Yandheyas, another clan named *Parśu*. Now according to the view of some scholars² the word *पर्यु* in *पृथुपर्यु* in *Rigveda* VII 83, represents a tribe, Persians most probably. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Panini mentions the *Parśus* as a tribe. Now, if the *Parśos* existed during the long centuries between the *Rigveda* and Panini, there is nothing against the Yandheyas having lasted for over ten centuries. That the Yandheyas were a compact clan ever since Panini's time (and probably before him) is seen from the *Sūtra* referred to above which runs thus—*पञ्चदि यौधेयदिभ्योऽणञौ* : i e the *taddhita* termination *अण्* is applied to the words in the list headed by *पर्यु* and *भण्* to those in the list headed by *यौधेय*, an additional condition being that they should be *आयुधजीविसह्यराची* : i e the words should indicate persons who form a gregarious class (*सह्य*) living by their weapons (i e by fighting), this condition being imported from a previous *Sūtra* by force of the convention known as *anuvṛtti*. I note this episode in Rudradaman's reign only to mark the clan like and democratic institution as capable of leaving its marks faint

1 Panini is placed by Sir R G Bhaskar in the 8th Century B C (Wilson Philological Lectures P 301) and Rudradaman is said to have flourished in the 2nd century A D. I allow the Yandheyas to come into existence before Panini as their fame in his days would demand it, but I compute an interval of ten centuries.

2 See *India and Persia* in *Ved Index*. It is what Ludwig and Weber agree in interpreting *पर्यु* as the Persians and the Parthians. Zimmer differs from them but there are good reasons in favour of Ludwig's interpretation.

or extinct though they may become in later centuries, on the life, and through it on the language, of the people.

It may be remarked also that, besides the Mūlavas and the Yaudheyas mentioned in the Gazetteer, there were a number of such clans as is indicated by the *ganās* or lists headed by पयं, यौधेय and, as stated in a preceding *Sūtra* by दामनि These were forty-three³ in number altogether Of these all but the Mūlavas and Yaudheyas seem to have outlived the long period between Pāṇini and Rndradaman Another noteworthy fact is that, at least according to Panini the Mūlavasya and Kshaudrakasya were non-Brahmins and non Kshatriyas and the Yaudheyas and others would appear to be Kshatriyas probably for the proviso अत्राद्यं राजन्यत्, which applies to the *Sūtra* which has मादय्य and दौद्रय for its instances, is not importable as an *anuvṛtti* into the *Sūtras* about the Yaudheyas and others All that we can infer from this is that in Panini's time the Yaudheyas and others were classified under Kshatriyas even if they may have been originally of foreign extraction, or we may fairly say that, though foreigners, they were regarded as Kshatriyas, i. e. they were foreign Kshatriyas

[The Bombay Gazetteer (Pp 137-8) derives the Rajput clan name जादेजा from यौधेय, but obviously the derivation is not satisfactory the Yaudheyas were as old as Panini whereas the Jadejas were later arrivals and foreigners]

3 This total includes मादय्य and दौद्रय mentioned as such clans belonging to the frontier near the Punjab, mentioned in Pāṇini V, iii, 114

1 I do not forget that Bhattoji Dikshita's interpretation of this phrase would not support the view put forward by me, for according to him मद्रज्ज is to be taken to express मद्रज्ज विशेष, but माय should be taken in its स्वर्प i. e. the word itself, and not the sense of *kshatriya* But especially as the साद्वर्प, i. e. usual association, of *Brahmana* and *Rajanya* would point to राजन्य meaning *kshatriya* in general it is open to hold that Pāṇini himself may have used the expression in the sense I suggest unless the Mahābhāṣya or earlier evidence can support Bhattoji Dikshita's interpretation, and show it to be a traditional interpretation The Mahābhāṣya does not seem to touch this *Sūtra*, and can therefore throw no light

* We now cast a glance at the *Traskūtalas* who were probably
The Traskūtalas a branch of the *Abhira* kings of the *Parinas*
 They rose to power about 250 A D, about the
 time of the middle *Kshatrapas* and after the decline of the
Kshatrapas which began in 300 A D The disroption of their empire
 was probably the work of The *Traskūtalas* who were their old neigh-
 bours and foes Under the name of *Hahayas* the *Traskūtalas*
 rose to supremacy about A D 455 G established a branch at the
 city of *Trilūta* (most probably modern Janoar in the Poona
 district) and roled over the Bombay Dakhan and South Gujarat,
 during the period between 410 A D (the fall of the *Kshatrapas*)
 and A D 500 (the rise of the *Chalukyas*).

This, however, affected South Gujarat For about the same
 period (410 A D to 470 A D) the main portion of Gujarat
Kuthiavāla and *Kachchha* came under the sway of the *Goptas*
Chandra Gupta II of this Gupta dynasty (389 415 A D) con-
 quered Gujarat in 410 A D, *Kumara Gupta* (416 453 A D)
 roled over Gujarat and *Kuthiavāla* and *Skanda Gupta* (454 to
 470 A D), added *Kachchha* to the two in his sway

This Gupta power was overthrown by *Toramana* and his son
The White Huns *Mihirakula* (A D 512 accession to the throne)
 who though themselves not *White Huns* but
 of the tribe called *Yuan-luo* in Chinese records, appear to have
 joined the *White Huns* in the invasion of India. The power of
 the *White Huns* was crushed between the combined attacks of the
Persians and *Turks*

The actual successors to the Gupta rule in Gujarat and
The Valabhis *Kutchiavāla* were the *Valabhi Kings* (550 to 750
 A D) the name being given from the name of
 their capital *Valabhi* The copper-plate grants of the *Valabhis*
 are written in Sanskrit though that could certainly not have been
 the language of the land The names of administrative off cers
 mentioned in these grants e g *आयुक्त, निपुण, महार* et cetera and

the words for territorial divisione, e. g. विषय, आहार, पथक, स्थली *et cetera*, attract our interest and attention.⁵

The first Valabhi ruler was Bhaṭārka; his tribe is not definitely known. The writer in the Gazetteer conjectures he was a Gurjara but this is really uncertain, and the reasons on which the conjecture is based are not strong. But there could hardly be any doubt that he was a foreigner.

Valabhi power fell at the hands of the Arab lord of Mansura⁶ (the capital of Sindh) some time between 750 and 770 A. D.

During the period between 666 and 740 A. D. the Southern

*The Broach
Gurjaras*

Chālukyas held sway over South Gujarāt. We find that at this time there was a small Gurjar kingdom at Broach, the first known king being

Dadda I. This kingship was not independent, but that of a feudatory, probably under the Valabhi dynasty in the beginning and latterly under the Southern Chālukyas. The territorial extent of this Gurjar kingdom was between the Mahi and Narmadā rivers; though at times their power extended north up to Kbeḍā and south up to the Tāpī river. References to Gurjaras in Rāshtrakūta times apply not to these Broach Gurjaras, but to the Bhīmāl Gurjaras, or, as Mr. Devadatta Bhāndārkar holds (with good reasons), to the Gurjaras of Mahodaya, which was another name for Kanauj. The Broach Gurjaras, about the time of Dadda III (675-700 A. D.), ceased to call themselves Gurjaras. I shall leave the Gurjaras here for a separate and fuller treatment further on, and simply remark that the Broach Gurjara dynasty was destroyed either by the Arabs or by the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūtas, or, as the late A. M. T. Jackson held, they probably submitted to the Chālukyas.

5. आसुक्तक and नियुक्तक, meaning 'appointed,' were apparently names of superior officials. महत्तर (or senior) the headman of a village. (cf. वडेरो used at present in Sindh) विषय—the largest territorial division, corresponding to the modern Division (as of a Commissioner). आहार—a collectorate, a District पथक a sub division, स्थली a petty division.

6. Old Brāhmanībād, or, according to some writers, a town two *parangs* i. e. 16 miles from the site of Brāhmanībād. (Elliot's History of India, as told by its own historians, Vol I, P. 122).

The Rāshtrakūta connection with Gujārat is divisible into *The Rāshtrakūtas*, three periods —

- (1) The first period of 63 years from A D 743 to 801, during which the ruler of Gujārat was dependent on the main Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas,
- (2) The second period, of 80 years, from A D 803 to 883, when the Gujārat family was on the whole independent and
- (3) The third period of 86 years from A D 888 to 974, when the Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas again exercised direct sway over Gujārat

The origin of the Rāshtrakūtas has been the subject of several theories, and the question of the northern and southern Rāshtrakūtas being identical, mutually connected, or quite distinct is subjected to learned examination by different antiquarian scholars, we need not go into all that here but the result of all the inquiries amounts to this that the Rāshtrakūtas were either non Aryan Southerners or foreigners subsequently Brahmanized and included under the all embracing term Rajput. Of their copper-plate grants the points useful for us to note are that the earliest Gujārat Rāshtrakūta grant bears the date Śaka 669 (A D 747), and that it is in the Valabhi style of composition and form of letters.

Reference has been incidentally made in the foregoing portion to the overthrow of the Gupta power by Toramāna and his son, Mihirakula. The Maitrakas of the Valabhi copper-plates appear to have come with these two warriors and the Maitrakas are identified with White Huns. These Maitrakas are again identified with the Mihirsas, the Mihers or Mers, who still survive in the latter names in Kāthiāwāḍ. These White Huns were at one time under Persian influence which affected their proper names and gave them the worship of the sun and this worship of the sun in the peculiar form was introduced into India after their advent. Their period is marked from 470 to 900 A. D.

After the fall of Valabhī no reliable record remains of any
The Chāvadās. dynasty ruling over the greater part of Gujarāt.

Most trustworthy and historical information is that with regard to the Chāvadās of Anahilapur. Even about them, so far as their earlier period is concerned, nothing is available but scant references by Jain authors in their history of the Solankis (Chaulukyas) and Vāghelās. The period of Chāvadī power extends from 720 to 956 A. D. It began with the small Chāvadī Chieftainship at Panchāsar (in Vadhnār) between Gujarāt and Kachchha. Its growth dates with the ascension of Vanarīya who founded Anahilapura.⁷

Who were these Chāvadās ethnically? It is stated in the Gazetteer⁸ that they were Gurjaras. But this theory rests on rather meagre evidence; whereas there are strong reasons to show that the Chāvadās were different from the Gurjaras. The writer in the Gazetteer bases his theory on the fact of a very indirect reference—which needs verification—to Brahmagupta, the astronomer, having written in A. D. 628 his *Siddhānta* at Bhīnmāl under king Vyāghramukha, who, he states, belonged to the Chāpa dynasty. This is not necessarily conclusive evidence of the Chāpas, i. e. Chāvadās, being Gurjaras, for the writer in the Gazetteer simply conjectures that this Vyāghramukha was the same as the Gurjara king whom Pulakesi II subdued. Another ground on which the theory is based seems to be that the Chāvadās of Anahilvāda were feudatories under the Bhīnmāl Gurjaras. This, again, is equally inconclusive, nay, it may be argued that if they were feudatories they would not be of the same race as their overlords. On the other hand, Mr. Devadatta R. Bhīndārkar, in his paper on the

7 The story of the choice of the site of this city viz. that Vanarīya was shown by a Bharvīl (a shepherd) a place where a hunted hare had attacked the hunting dog, thus showing that the land possessed the power of breeding men of special strength and courage, is a legend which is related in the case of other towns also, e. g. Ahmedabad, and also the ancient city of Vijaynagara in the Kanarese Deccan in the 14th century A. D., are also connected with similar legends.

8 Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I. part I p. 467

Gurjaras,⁹ has shown valid reasons to prove that the Châvaddas were distinct from the Gurjaras. He relies on the grant of the Chalukya prince, Pulakesi Janâsraya (738-9 A. D.) which mentions Châvntakas and Gurjaras among the peoples whose countries were invaded by the Tâjika army. The kingdoms of the Châvaddas and the Gurjaras are thus distinguished from each other.¹⁰ I need not dwell upon other reasons for Mr. Devadatta Bhîndârkar's view. But we have sufficient reasons to hold now that the Châvaddas cannot be identified with the Gurjaras as yet.

The Châvaddas were followed immediately by the Chaulukyas or Solankis (A. D. 964-1242). They figure largely in the history of Gujrâtî literature, in consequence of their connection with and patronage of Jainism and Jaina scholars, who enriched the vernacular literature of their days and were the fore-runners of many Jain scholars who continued the literary efforts of these fore-runners, writing works in the vernacular languages of their time till it grew into the shape of modern Gujrâtî. The names of Siddharâja and Kumbârapâla need only be mentioned and the picture rises before us of two great patrons of learning and

The Chaulukyas or Solankis; they were of Gurjara extraction.

9. See J. B. B. R. A. S. XXI, Pp. 412 ff (A. D. 1902)

10. The late A. M. T. Jackson also held this same view on the strength, amongst other reasons, of this very Chalukya grant (Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, Part I, pp. 465-6). And yet at p. 467 he states that the later Châvaddas were of Gurjara origin. He bases this view on the reference to Vyâgramukha noted just above. But that was in A. D. 628 and the Pulakesi grant is dated 738-9 A. D. How could the former reference then pertain to the later Châvaddas? Again at p. 153 of the same Gazetteer at the end of the chapter on "The Châvaddas" there is a special Note by A. M. T. Jackson in which he distinctly states the view that the Châvaddas were of Gurjara race.

At p. 5 (footnote) of the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, Part I we find it stated that in certain inscriptions both the Châvaddas and the Solankis are called Gurjara kings, and the following remark made — The Gurjara origin of either or both of these dynasties may be questioned — adding that the name "Gurjara king" may simply mean a king that they ruled the Gurjara country.

literature, with them at once rises the name and figure of Hemachandra whose massive learning and literary energy and output single him out as a grand figure in the history of literature. His writings were in Sanskrit—the written language of scholars,—as well as in *Apabhramśa* in which he wrote copiously. We shall go into the question of the language of the country in his times, later on. Just now we are concerned principally with the ethnologic position of the Chaulukyas. Who were they? The Bombay Gazetteer is unable to enlighten us on this point. It says: "No materials are available to trace the original seat of the family^o or to show when and whence they came to Gojardt."¹¹ It simply tells us that the Dakhan and Gujarat dynasties (of the Chaulukyas) were branches of the same stock.¹¹ It however adds a remark which gives us a starting point in our inquiry. It says "The balance of probability is as Dr. Buhler holds, that Mularaja's ancestors came from the North." Yes, Dr. Buhler has, in an able article,¹² shown that the first Chaulukya king, Mularaja, was the son of a king who ruled in Kanyakubja (Kanauj) and who reconquered Gojardt which had been an old dependency of his paternal empire. He shows why the identification of Kalyanachalaka (the capital of the Kanauj rulers) with the capital of the Dakhan Chalukyas by Forbes, Elphinstone and others was erroneous. This view of Dr. Buhler's has received powerful support from Mr. Devadatta R. Bhândarkar's paper on the Gurjaras wherein he has gone a step further than Dr. Buhler and identified Kalyanachalaka with Kanauj itself. He has further shown in the paper that Kanauj was then the seat of a powerful Gurjara kingdom and that the Chaulukyas were of Gurjara extraction.

Here we may linger a little over the Gurjaras and note what we know of them, for they it was that gave the name to the province now known as Gujarât and the name of the province gave the name Gujarâtî, to its language in course of time.

The Gurjaras, Gujarât, the name and how it was acquired?

11. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 156

12. The Indian Antiquary, VI 180 ff.

Before we speak of the Gujjaras however let us see when it was that the country got its name Gujjarât Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India¹³ states that it was under the Châvaddâs that Gujjarât got its name He makes this statement on the authority of the Bombay Gazetteer Vol I Part I p 5 note But we find no authority for such a statement as that made in the Gazetteer There are no Châvaddâ inscriptions yet come to light nor are any known references to them useful in this point Another little error regarding the name Gojarât needs correction The Bombay Gazetteer (p 2) derives the name from *Gurjara-ratta* (Prâkrit) and *Gurjara râshtra* (Sanskrit) This is obviously incorrect and most probably based on the false analogy furnished by the names *Surâshtra* and *Mahârâshtra* Another erroneous derivation we find given by the same Gazetteer (p 85) is *Gurjara râtra* These names *Gurjara râshtra* and *Gurjara râtra* (the latter being quite fanciful and bearing no meaning), are not to be found in any works or inscriptions On the other hand as Vrajâdî Śâstri¹⁴ and Mr Devadattin R Bhândârkar¹⁵ have pointed out, the name *Gurjaratrâ* is mentioned in several old works and inscriptions, as the name of a *Mandala* i e a province (it was also known as *Gurjara mandala* or *Gurjara dēśa*) The word *Gurjaratrâ* will yield the form *Gujarât* quite consistently with phonetic rules *Gurjara râshtrâ* would give the form *Gojarârâtha* on the other hand, and we hear many Marathi Brahmanas persistently calling Gujjarat by the wrong name *Gujarâtha* and Gujaratis are *Gujarâthis* with them simply because they are familiar with the names Marathi and Marathi Another little index to the correctness of *Gurjaratra* as the derivation of the name is furnished by the preservation of the feminine gender of the original *Gurjaratra* in expressions like *मादी गुजरात* (mad Gujarât), and the same gender being found in works as old as the *Kanhavade-Prabandh* of Padma nâbha (written in V S 1512)

13 Vol IX, Part II, P 323

14 *Gujarâti Bhâṣāko Itihâsa* P 69

15 'Gujjaras' J B B R A S XXI Pp 413 ff (A D 1902)

खण्ड वात पातसाह दसी
गुजराति ते वहीहि किर्सी

(Khanda I stanza 21)

Mr Deradatta R Bhandarkar tells us in his paper on the Gurjaras that this name of Gujarat was originally confined to a province in Rajputana; that it gradually expanded into a powerful and extensive kingdom with Kanauj as its capital that Mahipala of the Mahodaya dynasty (mentioned in a grant and an inscription of 914 and 917 A. D. respectively) was a Gurjara king ruling over this territory that his sway extended over Kathiawar at one time (though he had not yet penetrated into Gujarat) that even before Mahipala's time Gurjara kingdoms were spoken of and they ruled over Rajputana and a powerful Gurjara kingdom existed in Yuan Chwang's time with Bhilamal or Bhammal as the capital that the Gurjaras first entered India in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. their race being Scythian in origin and that the Gurjaras first came into the present day Gujarat and it acquired its name of Gujaratra (originally the name of the territory in Rajputana) after the Chaulukyas came into power in Gujarat in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era, the original name of Gujarat being Lata which was still the name of Southern Gujarat in the time of the Chaulukyas for some time Mr Devadatta Bhandarkar has come to the above conclusions after an elaborate and many sided inquiry.¹⁶ Amongst a number of arguments too numerous to reproduce, one is specially interesting. It is with regard to the references by Abu Zaid (916 A. D.) and Al Masudi (A. D. 948) to the king of Juzr and to Kanauj as a large country forming the empire of Juzr, these references being quoted from the Bombay Gazetteer Vol I Pt I (pg 526-7 and 519).

¹⁶ It may be noted here that Mr D. R. Bhandarkar has retracted his belief (expressed in his paper on the Gurjaras) regarding the identification of Yuan Chwang's Pi lo mo lo with Bhammal and accepted A. M. T. Jackson's identification (see his article on the Late Mr A. M. T. Jackson in *The Indian Antiquary* Jan 1911).

This name Juzr has been rightly identified by every one with Gujar. What has not been accounted for in this connection till now, so far as I know, is the little phonetic element in the word itself, viz. the 'j' instead of 'g'. This can be explained by the fact that the Yaman Arabs at the present day pronounce their letter *jim* as *gim* (गीम), and all words having it are pronounced with ग and not ज, the Egyptian and other Arabs pronounce it as ज (ज)¹⁷. It is, therefore, not at all unlikely that the *jim* was pronounced as *g* (ग) by the Arab writers noted above and they naturally wrote the name *Guzr* with a *jim* which was transliterated as Juzr under a misapprehension. The two sounds of "G" in English are well known, ज and ग as in *gin* and *gun*¹⁸.

Mr. Deradatta R. Bhindarkar tells us that his paper on the Gorjaras is a sort of supplement to A. M. T. Jackson's able and valuable paper on the Gorjaras which forms the history portion of "Bhiamāl" in Appendix III of the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, Part I. It would therefore be useful to note here a summary of the conclusions arrived at in that portion. They are —

(a) That the Gurjaras entered India in the fifth century A. D.

17. I owe this information to a friend of mine in the Indian Medical Service who has lived among the Arabs and observed this

18. The broad conditions governing this variation in the sound of G in English are given in Murray's Dictionary. They may be briefly stated as under —

G has the so-called hard sound (ग)

(1) at the end of a word

(2) before a consonant or a, u, o, (except in *gaol gaoler*), and

(3) in words of Teutonic etymology, before e and i, as *ingore* and *get*, also (4) in Hebrew proper names, as *Gedaliah*, *Gideon* (This Hebrew tendency may show an affinity with the Yaman Arab sound of *jim* as *gim*.)

In words from Latin or Latin or Romance G has the 'soft sound' before e, i, y, and at the end of a syllable in words of whatever origin the sound (ज) is represented always by *dge*, or *ge*, the letter J not being used in this position

(See G in the "New English Dictionary" by James A. H. Murray, L.L.D., and Henry Bradley, R.A.).

- (b) That towards the end of the sixth century (585 A D) they conquered modern Gujarāt and Broach and forced the Valabhis (A. D 509 766) to acknowledge their supremacy,
- (c) That Bhimāl (Śrīmāl) was long the capital of the main branch of the northern race of Gurjaras,
- (d) That the Gurjaras did not long retain their southern conquests in Hiuen Tsang's time both Kaira and Vadavagar (Ānandapur) belonged to Malava, while the Broach Chiefs probably submitted to the Chalukyas,
- (e) That the Gurjaras had (after meeting the Arab raids) to face a new enemy—the Rashtrakūtas—who after annihilating the Chalukyas in the Dakhan turned their attention northwards,
- (f) That Bhimāl was abandoned as a capital in about A D 953 during Bhīma Sena's reign when 18000 Gurjaras migrated from Bhimāl,¹⁹
- (g) That an important result of this abandonment was the transfer

19 The '*Kāṇhadade Prabandha* of Padmanābha shows that Bhinnamāla was a flourishing settlement of Śrīmālī Brāhmanas under Chahuāna^a away about the year A D 1311. The epic was composed in V S 1512, i. e. as the poet also informs us at the conclusion (*Kāṇhadade* IV, at 337 and 338), 145 years after the fall of Jālor and that (*Kāṇhadade* III at 22 ff.) Bhinnamāla was plundered and set on fire by the Mussalman army of Alla ud dīn Khiljī in the course of the campaign against Jālor. Thus the sack of Bhinnamāla would fall in the year 1367 V S i. e. 1311 A D (V S 1512-145 = V S 1367)^b. This is not inconsistent with the conclusion of Mr Jackson. It simply shows that even after the transfer of the Gurjara overlordship from Bhimāl to Anahilavāda, the former city continued as a flourishing city for 3½ centuries.

a Padmanābha, in the course of a description of its prosperity and holiness, calls Bhinnamāla नम्रपुरी चहुवाणा सगी (III—25)—the Brāhmana city under the Chahuāna again (Stanza 29) भिन्नमाल श्रीमाली वसई. The Śrīmālīs dwelt in Bhinnamāla.

b This fairly fits in with the sack of Anahilavāda Pātana (A D 1304), for it was on the return journey after taking Pātana and invading Soratha that the Mussalman general took Jālor (1311 A D). The interval of 7 years is not improbable M

of overlordship from Bhinmal to Anahilavada whose first Chalukya king was Mularaja (961-996 A D), and

- (h) That the Gurjara or Bhinmal empire broke up into several sections, the three leading portions being the Chauhans of Sambhar the Paramars of Malw and the Solankis of Anahilavada

It will be seen that Mr D R Bhandarkar's conclusions and those of A M T Jackson's can very well be dovetailed into each other so as to form a compact whole

A M T Jackson further holds (Bombay Gazetteer Vol I Part I P 465) that the numerous mentions of the Gurjaras and their country in inscriptions and historical works refer to the Chalukyas or Solankis of Anahilavada (A D 740-942) or to their successors the Vaghelias (A D 1219-1301) that it is incorrect to conclude, even from the mention of the Gurjaras in documents older than the tenth century, that the Châvadhîs of Anahilavâda or the Gurjaras of Broach (A D 508-808) or even the Valabhis (A D 509-766) are the Gurjaras referred to therein. He has shown very good reasons for distrusting these theories. I might note here only the reasons affecting the Broach Gurjaras. It is true they admitted their Gurjara origin as late as the middle of the seventh century. But there are strong reasons against this identification. Pulakesi II in his Aihole inscription of A D 681 (S 556) mentions Gurjaras as separate from the Latas and the country of the Latas really included Broach. Hsien Tsiang (640 A D) speaks of the kingdom of Broach by the name of the city and not as Gurjara country. In the eighth century the historians of the Arab raids notice Baras (Broach) separately from Jurz (or Surr),²⁰ and if a Chalukya grant of 736-37 A D mentions the

²⁰ Al-Bulidori in Elliot, I 126. He lived towards the middle of the 9th century A D, having died in A D 897-3, as this reference in Elliot shows. A M T Jackson uses the words 'the following century (after Hsien Tsiang)' and it seems this may be merely a loose statement.

Gurjaras (after the Chîvadis and the Mauryas of Chitor) as the last of the kingdoms attacked by the Arab Army

We can thus safely ignore the so called Breach Gurjaras on the three fold ground of their temporary existence, their being minor feudatories, and their having ruled in Lata and not in North Gujarat and hold that the advent of the Gurjaras into Gujarât begins with the entry of the Solaulis into Gujarat as concluded by Mr D R Bhandarkar

That the Gurjaras were foreigners is admitted on all hands We have noted before that Mr Devadatta R Bhandarkar, in his paper on the Gurjaras holds that Gurjaras were of Scythian origin In his paper entitled 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population'²¹ he lunte at their connection with the White Huns though not to be regarded as of the same stock, as making them identifiable with the Khazars If we are to be guided by the ethnological analysis of the Indian races made by Risley we shall have to class the Gurjaras as Scythians for he finds the Scytho Dravidian type predominant in Gujarât and Western India and though the Indo Aryan type is dominant in Rajputâna and Punjab he finds other elements also mixed up in these parts and his theory is that the Scytho Dravidians like other types of races found by him, are a composite type formed by crossing with the Dravidians who were the indigenous Indians²² In the midst of this apparent conflict of theories one fact comes out boldly-viz that the Gurjaras were foreigners This is sufficient for our present purpose

There is no doubt that the Gurjaras established themselves in this land firmly, and were fully absorbed in the local population As a result of this complete intermixture, the questions that would interest us most today are Did the Gurjaras bring their language with them? What was their language? What influence did it exercise on the language of the land? What was the language of the land

21 The Indian Antiquary XL, January 1911

22 'The People of India', pp 37, 35 and 266

during the period of their power? Questions like these press themselves upon us, and we shall try our best to answer as many of them as we can. It cannot be conceived that the incomers would leave their own language behind them as soon as they set foot on Indian soil. It is equally inconceivable, as I have said in the course of my first lecture,²³ that they should have not influenced the local language in some degree or other. We need not go so far with Dr Tessitori as to assert that the Gurjaras imposed²⁴ their language on the people of the land wherever they went. Such a theory seems to be like overrating the case. It is hardly consistent with the fact that in every other direction, social, religious, and the like, they got fully absorbed among the people of the land, and with the actual feature that the languages of the land as at present spoken and in their previous history show no violent detachment from the language preceding the advent of the Gurjaras, but exhibit a sure though modified, continuation of the precedent language. A mere comparison of Gujarati, Marvati and Apabhramśa will satisfy us in this direction. Probably all that Dr. Tessitori means to convey is that the Gurjaras gave of their language to the local tongue—a statement which no one will dispute.

What the language of the Gurjaras themselves was is a point on which it is impossible to make any statement in the present state of our knowledge. Consequently it is not in our power to determine the influence it exercised on the local languages though we can safely attribute some of the non-Sanskrit features in Gujarati to that influence as a possible cause.

We have ample materials however to know what the language of the land was during the period of their power. Dr Tessitori's valuable Notes on the Grammar of the old Western Rājasthān²⁵ have in the opening paragraphs lucidly established a theory which goes independently to support

23 See Pp. 8, 10 and 11 & 12.

24 The Indian Intelligencer, XLIII, February, 1914, p. 22.

25 The Indian Intelligencer, XLIII February 1914.

*The language of
the land during
Gurjaras ascendancy*

mans. This short span of less than a century was marked by two well known figures, Vastupāla and Tejapāla, who are immortalized by Someśvara in his Sanskrit work, *Kirtilaumudī*, and whose well-known inscriptions in Sanskrit at the temples built by them at Girnār, Śatrunajaya and Abu preserve a valuable record. These two ministers of Lavanaprasada, and his religious adviser, Someśvara named just now, are the outstanding characters in the opening period of Vāghelā rule, 1200 to 1233 A.D. We must skip over the successive rulers, Viradharala, Visaladeva, Arjunadeva, and Śārangadeva, and conclude with the bare mention of Karnadeva (1236 to 1304 A.D.) whose weak rule brought ruin on

the view expressed in a Gujarâti article written by me on the "Origin of the Gujarâti Language."²⁶ I suggested there that between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries of the Christian era a widely extensive language (which I termed latest *Apabhramśa*) was prevalent all over modern Gujarât and Rajpôtânâ, and it was not till after the fifteenth century that this language gradually split up into Gujarâti, Mâravâdi and kindred vernaculars.²⁷ Dr. Tessitori has named the prevalent language as Old Western Râjasthâni and holds that it split up into Gujarâti and Mâravâdi about the end of the sixteenth century of the Christian era.

These observations apply to the period two or three centuries after the Chaulukya advent in the tenth century. Going backwards, we find from the tenth century back to the sixth century that the languages spoken were *Apabhramśa*, in its different forms, and probably some of the other Prâkrits with which we are not concerned here, as Gujarâti is derived mainly from *Apabhramśa*. Dr. G. R. Bhandârkar assigns the sixth or seventh century to the development of *Apabhramśa* in the country in which Brajbhâshâ prevails in modern times.²⁸ I may later on elaborate this point at its proper place.²⁹ I shall pass over with deserved neglect the theory advanced by some people that modern Gujarâti existed even when the Parsis immigrated into India and landed at Sanjân about the end of the eighth century of the Christian era. The idea is absurd and ridiculous, being inconsistent with the whole history and course of the Gujarâti language, as will be clear when we enter upon that part of our inquiry.

To take up the thread where we left the Chaulukyas, we find the Vâghelâs as their successors. Their sway extended from 1219 A.D. to 1304 A.D., at the end of which Gujarât was eventually conquered by the Mûssal-

26. "Vasant," V, S 1970, p. 649. 27. See my "Note on Some Special Features of Pronunciation, etc. in the Gujarâti Language", the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLIV, January 1915. 28. See his "Wilson Philological Lectures," p. 302. 29. See *infra* Lecture V, opening pages.

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Here ends the pre-Muslman period in Gujarāt history, and,

before we glance at the Musalmān period, we
The effects of these may pause here a while to consider the effects
historical conditions of these historical conditions on the formation
on the language of of language in Gujarāt. We at once notice
Gujarāt. that most of the ruling people were foreigners.

others, who were not rulers, flowed into the population; thus all, ruling tribes and others, eventually merged into the people. Mr. Vincent A. Smith notices this process as a prevailing one all over the country. He says:—

"In this place I desire to draw attention to the fact, long unsuspected and now established by good evidence, that the foreign immigrants into Rajputāna and the upper Gangetic provinces were not utterly destroyed in the course of their wars with the native powers. Many, of course, perished, but many more survived, and were merged in the general population, of which no inconsiderable part is now formed by their descendants. The foreigners universally yielded, like their fore-runners the Śakas and Yueh-chi, to the wonderful assimilative power of Hinduism, and rapidly became Hinduized. Clans or families which succeeded in winning Chieftainships were admitted readily into the frame of Hindu polity as Kshatriyas or Rajputs, and there is no doubt that the Paribhāra and many other famous Rajput clans of the north were

developed out of the barbarian hordes which poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries. The rank and file of the strangers became Gujars and other castes a little lower than the Rajputs in the scale of precedence.³⁰

Mr D R Bhandarkar's interesting and able paper already alluded to above on 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' gives a number of clear proofs leading to the same conclusion. Beginning with the Greek Menandros (Menander Milinda), who became a Buddhist and several Yavana (Greek) private individuals who had become converts to Buddhism and adopted Indian names, also a *Yavana dāta* (a Greek ambassador) who became a Hindu and a Vaishnava. Mr Bhandarkar cites instances of Śakas of the imperial dynasty as well as private individuals having been converts to Buddhism of Kshatrapas under them having become Bauddhas and two—Ushavadāta and Rudradāman—having adopted Brāhmanism and the latter having married a Hindu wife and goes on to show that other foreigners, Abhīras, Kushanas, Maga Brahmanas, Hahayas, Hinas, Gujjaras, Maṭrakas and several others adopted Hindu or Bauddha religions or mingled with the Hindus in one way or other.

If we turn to ethnological considerations based on anthropometry we are informed by Risley, in his much criticized work that³¹ the dominant influence in the formation of these mixed ethnic types was the physical seclusion of India involving the consequence that the various invaders brought few women with them and took the women of the country to wife, and that to this rule there was only one exception viz the first wave of Indo Aryans. The reasons for this are given by him, he says—

'We may assume for our present purpose that the ancestors of the Indo Aryans came into India from the North West, and that at the time of their arrival the peninsula as far as the valley of the Ganges and Jumna, was in the possession of the Dravidians * * * * * We find no traces of Dravidian blood

30 'The Early History of India', P 303 (Second Edition)

31 The People of India P 266

among the Indo-Aryans of to-day. It seems probable, therefore, that when the Indo-Aryans entered the Panjâb they brought their own women with them, and were not reduced to the necessity of capturing Dravidians brides. On no other supposition can we explain the comparative purity of their type."³²

Even if we may not be able to fully endorse these definite conclusions, we cannot ignore the fact of foreign admixture in the ethnic composition of India, because we have other grounds on which to base the same conclusion, as we have already seen above. Accepting this view in its broad aspect, then, we observe that while such a mingling of races facilitated the mixture and new formation of the local language, the constantly disturbed condition of the country did not give much scope for literature to flourish and thrive, except during periods like those of the Solankis, especially under Siddharâja and Kumbârapâla, as already noticed before, or during the times of early classic Sanskrit literature.

The Mussalman period.

We shall now cast a hurried glance at the Mussalman period (A.D. 1207 to 1760).

This period of over four centuries and a half is divisible into three parts:—

(I) The rule of the early sovereigns of Delhi, a little over a century (A.D. 1207 to 1403);

(II) The rule of the Ahmedâbâd kings, nearly a century and three quarters (A.D. 1403 to 1573), and

(III) The rule of the Mogul Emperors, i.e. of the Viceroys under them, a period of nearly two centuries (A.D. 1573 to 1760).

The territorial extent of Gujarat during these four centuries and a half varied greatly. It was as under —

In the 14th century—Jâlor in the North to the neighbourhood of Bombay in the South, and from the Mâlva and Khândesh hills in the East to the sea in the west.

In the first half of the 15th century—Much the same as above.

In the second half of the 15th century and in the first quarter of

32. "The People of India." P. 49.

the 16th century:—Large portions from Khândesh and Málvâ were added to the former territory.

In the later part of the 16th century A.D.—(1580 to 1578)..... during which there was a period of misrule.....The West of Khândesh and the North of Konkan were outside the Kingdom of Gujarât.

Lastly—under the arrangements introduced by Akbar in A. D. 1583—more lands were restored to Málvâ and Khândesh.

Later on Jâlor and Sirohi, in the North; Dungarpur and Bânsvâdâ in the North-East; and Alirâjpur in the East were handed over to Rajputânâ and Central India; and there remained then the present day province of Gujarât.

Bird's History of Gujarât (which is practically a translation of Mirât-e-Ahmedi)—at P. 110—gives a list of *Sarkârs* (i. e. districts) and parts included in the political domain of Gujarât. It contains Judhpur and Jâlor and Nâgore (in Rajputânâ), goes South to Dassein, in and Daman, and even further South to Dândâ-Râjpur (in Konkan); and in the East and North-East includes Mulher and Nandurbâr (in Khândesh) and Dungarpur, Bânsvâdâ and Sirohi.

We must remember here that this territorial extent signified nothing more than an arrangement of political geography, not linguistic topography which could not be possibly effected by such administrative apportionments.

In viewing the history of the Mussalmân period we must bear in mind the half a century of political disorder (A. D. 1707 to 1757) which followed the death of Aurangzib. During this period the Marâthâs found their opportunity. We shall touch the Marâthâ period very soon. But before doing

that we may just examine the conditions affecting intellectual and linguistic development during the Mahomedan period. It is note-worthy that, while during the pre-Mohomedan period the foreign races intermingled with the indigenous ones to such an extent that new resultant races of special types were

Conditions affecting linguistic development during the Mahomedan period.

formed, and one of the results was the formation of our Prākṛits and their further evolution, the case was different during the Mussalmān period. Between the ruling races and the ruled there was not that intermixture of blood and racial absorption which marked the centuries preceding the Mahomedan rule. I do not ignore the matrimonial relations into which the Mughal Emperors entered with some of the Rājputs, nor the several conversions of Hindūs to Islām which have given us communities like the Momins, Khojās, Bohorās and the like. But they are peculiar social formations in which the combining elements are still visible as distinct factors, formations quite distinct in character from the racial absorptions of the previous centuries. Besides, the Mussalmān formations were limited in scope, whereas the previous absorptions affected the extensive Hindu social fabric. These naturally influenced the language of the country in consequence of that phenomenon. For while the Mussalmān formations were in a way artificial operations, the pre-Moslem absorptions were in their nature evolutionary processes. The result was that the only influence the language of the ruling Mussalmāns, viz Persian exercised on the indigenous languages and literature was external and out of organic.³³ It must all the same be admitted that the vernaculars went along the road of evolutionary formation—even during this period, unaffected in their organic constitution by the external Persian influence.

During this period certain communities such as the Nāgārā Kāyasthas and Brahma-Kshatriyas—members of which communities filled administrative posts—studied and mastered the language of the court, so much so that some of them were noted as Persian scholars and poets. The well known intellectual and literary

33 This remark is subject to one reservation. The wide sound of *अ* and *आ* in words of the types of *अल* and *आल* in Gujarātī, although owing its rise to the phonetic conditions existing in the preceding stages (*अवर* and *आवहृष*), where the accentuation of the *अ* and the presence of *र* and *हृ* prepared the ground for this sound, found a stimulating kinship in the foreign sound in Arabic and Persian in words of the types of *أمر* and *أمر*. For a full treatment of this subject see Lecture IV *infra*.

pastime called *bayt ba-r*³⁴ in which the Nâgars and perhaps the other two communities indulged during caste dinners, furnish an index to the influence exercised by the Persian language in those communities. Then, again, the official language being Persian throughout the provinces it naturally threw a considerable infusion of Persian words into the language of administration and indirectly into the language of the country in general. Another process that came into play was the indirect influence of the official and court language on the language of the bazaar the masses wherein naturally words frequently got altered morphologically through the intellectual limitations of the people and other circumstances generally affecting the pronunciation of words. It was this process which brought into existence the Urdu i.e. camp-language, on the one hand, and Persianized the vocabulary (simply the vocabulary, be it noted) of the language of the land.

It is interesting to note that the morphological alterations of words mentioned just now were governed by the same phonetic laws which affected the changes from Sanskrit to Prâkrit and Prâkrit to Gujarâtî - i.e. same as those affecting changes from Sanskrit to Prâkrit or Prâkrit to Gujarâtî. A few instances picked up at random may illustrate this remark —

- (1) व्यत्यय (*Vyatyaya*) metathesis i.e. interchange of letters, e.g.

Persian (Arabic) अमानत, Gujarâtî अनामत. This process is noticed by Hemachandra in his *Grammar* at VIII ii, 116 to 124, instances whereof are

Prâkrit वणारसी (which gives Benares, बनारस) from Sanskrit वाराणसी

34 The game consisted in one guest repeating a couplet from Persian poetical works and another reciting another beginning with the final letter of his predecessor's piece, and so on, till the chain went swinging in great excitement.

Prākṛit अटचतुर from Sanskrit अचतुर, etc.

This process also governs the formation of (G) विहाड from (S.) विहाड 35

- (2) स्वरान्ता स्वरा प्रायोऽपभ्रंशं (मि. इ. ८-४-२०८) is a rule which accounts for a number of vowel changes. And an addition of a vowel at the beginning of words (as अघोर for घोर etc.) marks a characteristic feature in Gujarātī phonetics. These two principle are found to work in the Gujarātī word आवेद्व from the Arabic, *ʿawad*.
- (3) A peculiar feature of Gujarātī is the wide or विवृत sound of ए and ओ in certain formations. I shall deal with the principles involved in these formations in a subsequent lecture. Here it may be simply stated that this principle (which operates in the transition of words from Sanskrit or Prākṛit into Gujarātī) is found to operate also in the case of Persian and Arabic words transmuted into Gujarātī, e. g.

| Arabic or Persian | Gujarātī |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| कीड (कूड) | कीड |
| गैरत (गुप्तत) | गैरत |
| दैरान (दुपूगान) | दैरान |
| घेव (अपूव) | अव ³⁶ |
| गैव (गुपूव) | गव |
| गैर (गपूर) | गैर (in गैरवाजवी &c.) |

&c. &c.

(Note—Only in वगैरे (Arabic वगैरह) the ए in गे is not विवृत. This may be treated as an exception).

35 S. George Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. IX, Part II, Page 331, para 6.) cites the word विहाड among words formed by applying the termination ट (टो, टी, टु). This is obviously erroneous. His instance of कुकडो (Kukda) a cock is equally wrong, tho is an internal and non terminal (कुकुट-कुकुटो-कुकुटो) in it as in विहाड-विहाट.

36 I have on purpose written अ with a व as I have to denote the wide sound by an inverted व.

In words like गहर (Pers. गहर), कहर (Pers. कहर), सर (Pers. सर), and the like the process by which the विसृप्त sound of ए is evolved comprizes a few internal mutations which I shall deal with at the proper place in another lecture.

(4) The change of the final ए³⁷ into ओ (Masculine) or उ (Neuter); e. g.

| Persian or Arabic | Gujarātī |
|-------------------|----------|
| पदह | पदो |
| मुदह | मुदु |
| प्यादेह | प्यादु |
| खजानेह | खजानो |
| तकियेह | तकियो |
| नकारेह | नगारु |
| प्यालेह | प्यालो |

etc., etc., etc.

On the other hand, words without such final syllable, but having only a consonant, form in Gujarātī words with a final अ; thus:—

| Persian or Arabic | Gujarātī |
|-------------------|-----------|
| मद | मरद |
| बाग | बाग |
| किकर | किकर, ककर |

&c. &c.

This feature corresponds to the principle whereby words ending in अक in Sanskrit, turning it into अव in Apabhramśa, become words with a final ओ in Gujarātī, and Sanskrit words without the क termination and ending in अ become in Gujarātī words with a final अ; e. g.

| Sanskrit | Apabhramśa | Gujarātī. |
|----------|------------|-----------|
| दन्तकः | दंतव | दंतो |
| हस्तकः | हत्पव | हापो |
| दन्तः | दंत | दंत |
| हस्तः | हत्प | हाप |

etc., etc.

37. The ए in एह is very short; it almost gives a sound like अह.

It may be suggested that in the transition from Persian and Arabic into Gujarātī there must be a similar *अउ* sound formed imperceptibly before the terminal *ओ* or (*उ*) is formed.

- (5) The change of *झ* to *ज* in Gujarātī; e. g. *नम्र* (P.) to *नजर* (G.); *काशी* (P.) to *काजी* (G.); *बाशी* (P.) to *बाजी* (G.); *मिह्र* (P.) to *मिहो* (G.); *मिह* (P.) to *मिद* (G.), *मिमान* (P.) to *मिमान* (G.); *et cetera*.

Of these words, *मिमान* appears to have at first passed through the process of *व्यत्यय*, and the intermediate step thus arrived at being *मिमाझ*, the final *झ* is changed to *ज* and we have *मिमान* as spoken in all parts of Gujarāt except Surat and Broach, while in this latter tract the final *झ* is turned into *स*, and they have the word, *मिमाम*. This is not accepted, however as a *śiṣṭa* form, which is determined by generality of usage in the writing and speech of educated classes.

This principle is peculiar to the relation between Persian and Gujarātī as the *झ* (Z) sound is foreign to Sanskrit and other Indian languages.

- (6) Misapprehension of sense leading to a wrong word being used; e. g.

(Arabic) *तरफ* (sing.), *तरफें* (dual). (Guj.) *तरफेण*.

The Arabic *तरफें* means "two sides", whereas *तरफेण* in Gujarātī is used, by people not knowing this fact, to mean *तरफ*,—a side.

(This case does not affect the morphology of the word, but is included here to illustrate the principle of misapprehension)

- (7) *Aspiration of consonants*; e. g.

Persian or Arabic

दा

Gujarātī.

दाમ

Instances of this kind are frequently found in changes from Sanskrit and Prākṛit into Gujarātī:—

Sanskrit . Prākṛit or Apabhramśa

Gujarātī.

बोजवः

बोजव

बोजो

ढाढा

डाढा

माढ

कागः

कंतु

कंध

etc., etc.

Persian or Arabic

Gujarati.

नयारहु

नगर

This change is noticed in *Si. He* V III-17-396 as occurring in *paḥramṣa*, also in the case of certain words in *Prithit* (*Si He* V III-1-182³⁸)

It also occurs in Gujarati formations in some cases e.g.

| | |
|----------|---------------------------|
| Sanskrit | Gujarati |
| पर्यंत | एतक |
| द्विक | बगडो |
| एकादश | अगिया |
| एकोन— | ओगण (in ओगणीस, ओगणवीस &c) |
| उत्पत्ति | उगनगाडो etc |

(9) The change of \mathfrak{z} or \mathfrak{z} (not at the end of a word) to \mathfrak{z} e g

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| Persian | Gujarati |
| खैर | મહેદુ |
| खर्ग (= a bird) | મરખ (દુ) - a cock 39 |
| खिन्न | મરખો |
| | મરખી |
| | फकर |

63.

This change is largely prevalent in the transition from Sanskrit or Prakrit into Gujarati — e. g.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| विना (Skr), विप्र (Prkr) | Gujarati |
| तिल (Skr. & Prkr) | बना |
| चिनोति (Skr) } | तल |
| चिणइ (Prkr) } | चणे |
| मुद्रा (Skr) } | |
| मुद्रा (Prkr) } | मगे |
| उनाति (Skr) } | |
| हणइ (Prkr) } | रण |

2000 2000

38 VIZ मरकत-मरगय, मदकल-मयमनो, कदुक-गदुम

39 As regards the change of meaning of the English word *foal* which originally meant *at / bir l*

These instances will be sufficient to indicate the extensive nature of the operation of identical or similar phonetic principles in the transmutation of words whether the language of origin be Sanskrit or Prakrit on the one hand or Arabic or Persian on the other. We know, even now English words in passing through changes while coming into our vernaculars follow similar phonetic laws. For instance *agreement* (English) becomes गिरमिट in our vernaculars and here we see the operation of the principle that unaccented initial vowels are generally dropped. The word *doctor* becomes दागदर with Hindi-speaking villagers thus softening the medial simple hard *k* and *t* in दारदर, an operation very common in *Apabhramśa*.

The case of Marathi will also furnish apposite instances thus—

- (1) *z* (/) in Persian is changed in Marathi to *z*—

| Persian | Marathi |
|---------|---|
| आममाद | अदमास |
| बुमग | बुदग (as in दिगग बुदग जवजई बुदग (as names of villages) |

- (2) व्यत्यय—

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Persian बाद अम सलाम | / |
| Marathi बाजित सलाम | |

- (3) A soft consonant in Persian is changed to a hard one in Marathi—

| Persian | Marathi. |
|-------------|--|
| बुमग | बुदग (in names of villages as noted above) |
| बाद अम सलाम | बाजित सलाम |

This hardening is due in the first case to the *g* coming as a final consonant (*g*) and in the second case to the *z* (interchanged with *z* as noted above) sounding as a pure consonant and being followed by *z*. This operation is well known in the rules of *z* in Sanskrit.

We must now hurry on to the Maratha period of the history of Gujarat. The Maratha connection with Gujarat comprizes the following periods —

- I The period of predatory inroads from 1664 to 1743 A D , during which the Marathas had not still established themselves within the province
- II The period of mercenary aid — 1743 to 1760 A D , during which the Marathas interfering in the quarrels of the Mahomedan officials lent their troops and gradually acquired territory and
- III The period of domination from 1760 to 1801 A D , during which the Gayakvada's influence was occasionally greater than that of the Peshvas

After 1802 A D the Maratha supremacy disappeared and the paramount power practically passed on to the British

During the whole of the Maratha period history was made more by the Government and its delegates than by the people. The interest of the Marathas in Gujarat was simply pecuniary. Sivaji's main object was booty, and the commercial and artizan population suffered most in consequence. Rapidity of action being his aim Sivaji's visits were short and their effects transitory. He carried away booty that could be transported by his horsemen. No women or followers accompanied his expeditions, and he took no prisoners except a few who were likely to pay a heavy ransom. Women and cultivators were exempted from capture. During the latter part of the Maratha depredations, however the expeditions moved in a more leisurely manner and in greater force. Booty was taken to the Dakhan in carts now, the roads and passes in the rear being guarded by the Marathas.

The internal dissensions between the Peshva and the Maratha Dabhâdê are too well known to need any detailed mention. They kept up the unsettled state in Gujarat for some years, till eventually virtual supremacy passed into the hands of the Gayakvada. Another feature to be noted is that during their away in Gujarat the Marathas had to recruit their

soldiers in the Konkan and the Ghats, the warlike tribes as also the aboriginal races of Gujarat, for several reasons not furnishing any fighting material to the army of the Marāṭhās. The home of this Marāṭhā army was always the Dakhan and for many years after the Marāṭhās established themselves in Gujarat, their army regularly spent the rainy season in their native country. Their leaders also stayed as much as possible near the Court in the Dakhan. No force was maintained in Gujarat sufficient to consolidate the Marāṭhā acquisitions there into a manageable whole. The result was that Marāṭhā domination rapidly disappeared before it could get assimilated into the system of the province, a thing to be expected under conditions wherein the administration of the province, which was at a distance from the mother-country of the rulers, partook more of the nature of a military occupation than a well established civil government, wherein the principal actors and wielders of power were disunited by internal jealousies and dissensions, wherein the central authority itself was actuated by feelings of distrust and jealousy towards the administrators on the spot, wherein these feelings as well as the short sightedness of the local authorities came in the way of organizing a proper government from the system already existing, thus making the administrative arrangement lifeless and inelastic, as a thing imposed on a foreign people from outside and not as worked into them from inside.

These noticeable features are to be borne in mind in considering the extent or absence of literary life

Unrecorded influences in the contact with Marāṭhās, as affecting the language of the land

and activity during and soon after this period of Marāṭhā advent and supremacy. There were, however certain institutions during this period which unfortunately the writers of history have

not troubled themselves with noticing but which are useful to us in our present study. Such for instance, was the system of *śāstrīnā* and the competitions amongst the Śāstrīs connected therewith of which we know from *rahitte* tradition and other sources. These competitions were the cause direct or indirect

of many impressions, varied in strength and depth, left by the Marāṭhī language and institutions on those of Gujarāt. Sanskrit learning was, at one stage of this period inseparably associated with the Dakhan Brāhmana, so much so that Gujarātī Śāstris adopted even the head-dress of the Marāṭhī Brāhmanas, till that peculiar turban came to be regarded as a mark of learning, as it were, and it has now come to be the head-dress of certain Brāhmana castes in Gujarāt. (Even now in at least one caste there are two sorts of turbans worn, the ordinary Gujarātī turban (spherical in shape) by the ordinary section, and the Dakhan Brāhmana's turban by the Śāstrī and Purāṇī class amongst them).

This was but a small indication of the competitions. These at one time created such keen rivalry and jealousies that the Gujarātī and Dakhani Brāhmanas picked holes into each other, even in the matter of the way of pronunciation. The Dakhani Brāhmanas looked down upon the pronunciation of Sanskrit by the Gujarātīs as corrupt and this feeling gave birth to the current stanza —

तुलसी तलसी जाते (ता) सुहृदोऽपि मयन्दकः ।

गुजराणां मुखं चटं (प्राप्य) शिरोऽपि शक्तां गतः ॥

I very well remember how keenly this feeling was resented by the late Śāstrī Vrajalāl Kālīdās⁴⁰ who used to say:—

"These Dakhani Brāhmanas accuse us of corrupt pronunciation; ask them to pronounce the vowel *ḥ*; they are sure to sound an *r* in it. Their tongues ought to be pulled out for that!" (He was an excitable Śāstrī in his days). That this feeling of mutual jealousy had risen to a high pitch at one time can be

40. He lived in the early part of the present Vikrama Samvat century, having died on *Kārtika Vadi 10th V. S. 1942* (=11th December 1892 A. D.)—*vide his life-sketch written by Mr. Tanasukharam M. Tripathī, published with Vaideshik Sāra, translated by the said Śāstrī, V. S. 1954. I possess a letter from him to me dated V. S. 1942, Bāṭ-drapada Śudī 15, from his native village of Malitaj (Nadiād Taluka, Kaira Dist.) where he passed his days of retirement. He says in this letter that he was 60 years old then. Thus he was born in V. S. 1882. I am driven to depend on this calculation, as unfortunately Mr. Tanasukh Tripathī's sketch does not give the year of the Śāstrī's birth.*

judged by the fact, told me by an old Śāstrī years ago, that the dress of the Gujarātī women formed the subject of comment by the opposite community and a reply by the Gujarātī Śāstrīs.

I mention these small incidents simply to mark the close literary contact during this period between the two communities. But this much must be specially noted: that it was confined to the Sanskrit *Pandit* class and for the most part in connection with Sanskrit learning. Real linguistic contact between the two vernaculars came about the same time, no doubt, but amongst the generality of the population, and it left comparatively very limited impression on the Gujarātī language. The reasons can be traced in the rather superficial and transitory nature of the contact between the two races, as can be seen from the summary of the Marāṭhī period.⁴¹ The result was that stray words like *नाईरादो*⁴² (the name of a particular street in Ahmadābād) still survive in Gujarātī as marks of this contact. It must be noted that certain words, e. g. *परियट*⁴³ (=a washerman), *एवाह*⁴⁴ (=a liar, etc.) found in Gujarātī literature of periods contemporaneous with and even previous to the Marāṭhī can be accounted for by the fact that such words came into Marāṭhī as well as Gujarātī independently from a common source, viz. the *Deśya* or *Prākṛit* language of earlier days. This is specially indicated by the fact

41. This phenomenon may be compared, with certain modifications, to the fact that Greek influence on India was but temporary and superficial, in spite of the Greek contact lasting from Alexander's time to that of Menander (with certain interruptions) and, as Mr. Vincent A. Smith writes ("The Early History of India, P. 225, 2nd Edition), "the Greek influence rarely touched the fringe of Hindu civilization, and was powerless to modify the structure of Indian institutions in any essential respect." This applies to linguistic influence equally.

42. Sanskrit *नादिमो* becomes (by *Si. Hc.* VIII-1-233) *नादिमो* or *एनादिमो*. It is just possible that *नाई* came from the former into Gujarātī and was subsequently lost, and *एनाई* from the latter into Marāṭhī.

43. See *नेंदरवौडी* of Śimālā (V S 18th century), stanzas 27 and 23 (इ. म. दो. म. I. page 341).

44. 19th century usage, See *Narmadā* P. V

that while Marāṭhī has परीट, a further development from the original *deśya* word, Gujarāṭī is nearer the original, which is परियटो (See *Deśi Nāma-Mālā* of Hemachandra Varga VI, St. 15). It will be useful to examine a few more instances at this place:—

(a) आई (=mother). This word is known to Marāṭhī, but not generally, to Gujarāṭī, only in a few cases is the word used in Gujarāṭī; thus—

(1) वेडो चाई पेंदतो त्हारो रे

अंने आई पार वतारो;

(2) आई ए समोवड को नहिं;⁴⁵

(3) आई is used amongst the Kāthīs in Kāthiāvāḍa in the sense of 'father's mother.'

Most probably आई is derived from, or allied to, Sanskrit आयी which gives अज्जा in Prakrit and आजी in Marāṭhī. Śauraseni and Māgadhī as also Pālī would give अप्या; which also may be the origin of आई. (Cf. Sanskrit आयें=father-in-law, as in आयेंपुत्र (the term addressed to a husband by a wife), and आयी=mother-in-law).

(4) वडीआई or वडियाई is current in modern Gujarāṭī in the sense of 'mother's mother' (वडी=great and आई=mother).

(b) आपो is used amongst the Kāthīs to address males respectfully. This must be in the sense of आप or more probably चापा. The word आप is from Sanskrit आत्मन् *deśya* अप्पा connected with the Dravidian—Appa (अप्पा), meaning 'father' (Kanarese अप्पा=father). The primary sense being 'self', it must be a term of respect; just as पोते means 'self' primarily in Gujarāṭī and is used respectfully in sentences like पोते घरमां छे के? (Is the 'self' inside the house?). In Marāṭhī अप्पा is confined to proper names of persons (i. e. in nick-names), e. g. अप्पा साहेब, अप्पा साहेब &c.

45 "ईश्वरविवाह" by Murāri, copy of the Ms is dated V. S. 1675. It is not known, says the *Bṛhat Kāṇva Bōhana*, where Murāri came from. Could he have been from Kāthiāvāḍa? for he uses the expression तेवेवडी:—

तेव तेवडीय त.गोमो पार्वती करो हाय.

मु. का. दो. पं. ६, पृ. ४०६.

which तेवेवडी is a Kāthiāvāḍī expression for—"of equal age;" though the exact expression (Kāthiāvāḍī) would be तववडी.

* (I am told of the joke about one of the Kutchi Chiefs who was given the title of C I E (सी आई ई), whereupon the Kutchi people used to say - "सावर तो आवो मदीन आई प्या")

(c) भांग = (Marathi) the parting of the hair, in modern Gujarati called सर्पी

Vallabha Bhatta (17th century A D) has in his 'शणमारनो गव्यो -

"मरी भांग मृगना ते महा मूर्खी रे लो"

Another has -

* "भांग समार मोर्छा"

(d) चीचोडा (Gujarati-modern) = तमरूका tamarind seeds

Marathi has चिच = tamarind from Sanskrit चिंचा (See Amarakosa)

This word is seen only in this word चीचोडा in Gujarati for the word for tamarind is आवरी

(e) पुढे = before (from Sanskrit पुर) This word is current even in present day Marathi but not in Gujarati. Yet in a Ms copy of पञ्चरत्न निर्णय (V S 1699) shown to me by Mr Chhaganlal V Raval (a retired Head Master of Vernacular Schools) of Innarva I find this word used several times ⁴⁰

I may here note the tendency even during present times with some Gujaratis in Baroda to import Marathi words unaltered to the spirit of the Gujarati language, e.g.

(1) पान for page when in Gujarati पान would signify a beetle leaf or 'the leaf of a tree generally

(2) निदान = at least which is quite foreign to Gujarati

४६ ब्राह्मण मन्त्राने वल्लभा क द भवता हानवर्ग वल्लभ वगने पुढ ज प तो वल्लभ सफने
बनान हो (P 7-2 || 2 3)

उ मास पुढे जल मूर्छा एक रात्र जल पुढे दया विद्विषये ज वागने देववर्द्धन के १ जदि ॥
त्रा मास पुढे उ मास वर्षा वसुधि शिखरे एक रात्रि एक दिवस शीघ्रा रात्र वसुधि प रे
दिन पाने । (P 4-2 || 1 to 4)

विद्विष मो ने दय रात्र पुढे सांभळे तो विम म वर्षा दिन २ मुद्राचोव

(I 4 1 1 9)

बार दल हवमा पुढे परमा दृष्टि

(P 4-1 1 1)

शक्यजन नह (I) पुढे म वास लेविने दय मर्छातु मेर (P 3-2 || 8-9)

(3) વાદવાટ = discussion equally foreign to Gujarati,

(4) ચલવલ = agitation,

(5) ચલકટ = strong etc

This tendency is due to the influence of official correspondence and the easy receptivity of the imitating nature of a certain class of people. The success or failure of such words attempting to force an entrance into another language must depend on (1) the persistence with which the attempt continues (2) the reality or otherwise of the need for such words in the receiving language, and (3) the intrinsic suitability or unsuitability of such words to the nature of the receiving language.

I need not dwell at any length on the post Marathi period. Knowledge about the course of linguistic development during these last hundred years is within easy reach of every one, and the only factors useful for our inquiry are the infusion of Portuguese and English words into our vernaculars. The latter are so well known that I may only indicate a few typical instances — કલેક્ટર, રેલ્વે, ઓફિસ, ગવર્નર, ટાઇમટેબલ, સ્ટેશન, etc etc, etc.

The Portuguese no doubt, came into India at the end of the fifteenth century A D. But their contact with Gujarati, indirect as it was, exercised a filtering influence on the Gujarati language during later years. A few instances of Gujarati words which are traceable to Portuguese origin may be noted here —

| Gujarati | Portuguese |
|----------|----------------------|
| આફસ | Alfonsa |
| પાયરી | Pires |
| અનનાસ | Ananas ⁴⁷ |
| કાફી | Cafe |

47. Mr. Keshavnalal M. Jivan, derives this form *Perwana* (rather Arabic) અવનુ નાસ = 'eye of the people'. (His paper on "ફેટલાક ફારસી શબ્દો" read before the third Gujarati Sahitya Parishad at Rajkot P. ૨૨)

This derivation (from Arabic) seems artificial. The fruit is South American, and the Brazilian word is *ananas anessa* or *anas* first mention being Peruvian *ananas* (Century Dictionary)

| | |
|---------------------|------------|
| Gujarati | Portuguese |
| बाग | Caju |
| इस्कोतरियो | Escritoria |
| पादरी | Padiç |
| मेज | Mesa |
| बटाटा | Batata |
| तमाकू ⁴⁸ | Tabaco |

(From *Influencia do Vocabulario Portuguez em Linguas Asiaticas* by Monsenhor S. Rodolfo Dalgado)⁴⁹

I shall now briefly indicate such factors as form part of *Historical* : *Historical influences that affect the evolution of*
causes : *a language with special reference to Gujarati*
external factors : *Next after contact with immigrant races which*
 we have examined at some length comes interprovincial contact : *the*
 the communication between one province and another. The effect
 of such a contact on the formation of a language will be regulated
 by the stage of evolution which it has reached. Thus while on the
 one hand during the past centuries when facilities for travel and
 communication were very limited the influence of the languages of
 other provinces on Gujarati was naturally expected to be limited
 also and was thus limited on the other hand although during the
 present times of close communication and rapid travelling facilities
 between province and province in India such influence may be ex-
 pected to be strong yet as a matter of fact it is not so for during
 the old centuries the language was in stages of progressive phonetic
 formation whereas now it has arrived at a sort of settled morpho-
 logical condition and hence the only effect of inter-provincial con-
 tact is seen in translations from Bangali and Marathi literature
 and occasional importation of words.⁵⁰ During the past centuries

The Century Dictionary gives *Anana* as Portuguese.

48 Some people derive the word from *अमृत* ('Skr') and claim a great antiquity for the drug as indigenous to India. I reserve my observations on that point for my next lecture.

49 This book was kindly lent to me by Mr. P. I. Karkar.

50 Cf. the word *महाद्वय* which is undoubtedly imported from Bangali in the sense of 'Skr' — a sense which is not known to the original Sanskrit.

communication between provinces widely apart was secured* by pilgrimages trade connection inter marriage and the like. These were not forces strong enough to secure linguistic unity where such did not exist and where some sort of a *lingua franca* served to secure mutual understanding. Where such was the case one side had perforce to acquire the language of the other. Want of this arrangement occasionally resulted in amusing or tragic misunderstanding. There is a story not historical but typically significant related of a Kanarese wife newly wedded to a Marathi husband. The wife was making up a betel leaf *pattu* for the husband she wanted to know how he would like to take the chunam whether applied on the leaf or separate (as many people in the Deccan take it). So she asked —यडे मेळे ? (*lale melle* ?) : e 'Shall I apply it on the leaf? (यडे = a leaf मेळे = upon). The husband innocent of his wife's mother tongue thought she said —यल्ली मेढी : e 'Yelli was dead (Yelli was the name of this town's sister). He answered philosophically—'हरिसत्ता (*Harisatti*) : e 'We must submit to the power (सत्ता) of Hari (God). At this the wife burst crying and lamenting for Hari was her brother's name and सत्ता (*satti*) in Kanarese means 'is dead'.

The traces of inter provincial communication which existed in old times are to be discovered in unexpected corners of linguistic domain. A couple of instances may throw light on this aspect. Thus the word एलची in Gujarati lights up the whole history of trade relations between Gujarat and the Malabar coast which is the source of production of that article (cardamom). It is pre-eminently a product of Kanara District and its name in Kanarese is यालकि. The Hindi is एलायची and the Marathi वेळडोडे (डा) has nothing in common with it except the first part वेळ which may be from Sanskrit एला. The ची in Gujarati एलची and Hindi एलायची can not be accounted for by the Sanskrit एला. It can only be explained

skrit. It is distinctly a characteristic Bangali coming. I know personally how this word was first introduced by the late Narayana Hemalandra (a most voluminous translator from Bangali) in his writings and how it caught

by the *वि* in *यादवि*, *च* and *क* being phonetically allied and convertible, especially when *ई* follows the *क*. Further, *यादवि* in Kanarese can be analyzed into *यादु*+*अवि* (=1. rice 2. any grain resembling rice, 3. husked grain). This *अवि* seems to be an altered form of the Tamil *वाय्* in *यादवाय्* which is the Tamil for *यादवि* (kanarese). Another form of the word given me is *यादकायि*, *वायि* meaning 'a raw fruit' in Tamil as it also does in Kanarese.⁵¹ It is very probable that Sanskrit *एटा* was formed from the Dravidian *याद* or *यादु* as cardamom is a Dravidian product and the *ए* in Gujarati *एच्यी* and *एच* in Hindi *एटायची* indicate a reversion to the Sanskrit *एटा* or a cross formation between the Sanskrit *एटा* and Kanarese *यादवि*. Finally, the gender of *एच्यी* in Gujarati is really neuter only through ignorance and the false appearance of the final *ई* (generally found in words of the feminine gender) it is that many people use it in the feminine gender. This conforms with the Kanarese wherein all inanimate things are in the neuter gender.

They take the game of *गिटीईटा* which in one variety has for computing the scores the terms *यकट*, *ऐण*, *मूर*, *नार*. These are really from Kanarese words meaning 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four' — *यकटु* (*यक*=one+*टु*=to bind) *यई* (=two) *मूर* (=three) *नार* (=four). It is very probable that this variety of the game travelled along the coast northwards as far as Sorat, for in Gojari proper the game is played in a different variety and with different score words. The game with the Kanarese words has also travelled inland into the Deccan.

Finally, a different historical fact affecting our language may

| | |
|---|--|
| Anthropological | be noted. It does not concern the morphology of any words as much as the anthropological |
| light thrown by | side of the country and its history as stored up |
| single words and | in a single word. I have in mind one particular |
| these derivations | word — <i>भोट</i> (<i>elo</i>) which signifies a particular |
| <i>भोट</i> , (<i>G</i>) <i>वदर</i> (<i>M</i>) | wandering tribe of earth diggers, diggers of wells |
| <i>भोटु</i> (<i>Kan</i>) | and tanks. A similar tribe is known in the Maharashtra (Deccan) as |
| | <i>वदर</i> (<i>Vadlar</i>) or (<i>Va-lar</i>). It is common for <i>व</i> and <i>भ</i> to be inter- |

51 I owe all this various information to two friends who are familiar with Tamil and Kanarese.

changed between Marathi and other languages (even अ and ए are so changed to व as in वस्त्र Marathi=भस्त्र (Gujarati), a razor, वेळ in वेळडोडे for एळची एजिन is वेजिन with the Kunbi class in the Deccan), e.g. वस्ताद is वस्ताद in Marathi while ओळख is वळख amongst the Marathi villagers

This explains the व in वहर But whence the superfluous looking र? We have to go further south for the origin of this little र In Kanarese ओइ is the word for a digger of this kind they are either मण्यु-ओइ (=diggers of मण्यु=earth) or कल्लु-ओइ (diggers of कल्लु=atone) The plural of ओइ in Kanarese would be ओइर⁵² This ओइर may easily drop⁵³ the final short उ and become ओहर, वहर in Marathi and the र get merged into the word itself, losing its terminal character by mere misapprehension⁵⁴ This state of things is specially due to the fact that in mentioning one's caste or tribe people use the word expressing the caste or tribe in the plural, thus—Kanarese नीवु यातरवर?—(what caste are you? Lit 'you of whom?'), the answer—even if the speaker is alone—would be 'नावु हविवर' (we are Haviks') Gujarati—'हमे વાણિયા' 'we are Vantias' A Mussalman cultivator at Tadas (Th. Hubli Dist. Dhurwar) told me on being asked his tribe—that he was शेखा (plural of शेख) Compare Holeyar (होलेयर), current as a base word meaning Mahār or Holeyā and Holeyaru (plur) in Kanarese

52 In Tamil etc. also it seems to be ओइर An article in the East and West 1908 A.D. Page 56 on a description of a fair at Tirupathi, has—'The bearers (of doolies)—who are all oldars (or diggers) by caste in this part of the country. Mark the double plural—unconsciously used in oldars the र itself being a Tamil plural and the s an English affix. Compare the balance of the plural terminations in a mixed way made by many Bombay people, as in लेडीशो, फेलोशो—Ladies +ओ Gujarati plural affix fellows +ओ Gujarati plural affix I once heard a Parsi gentleman speak of किरणो किरण (=a ray) Gujarati +s English affix +ओ, Gujarati affix

53 To be accurate the उ turns into अ

54 Cf. नागरपत्नी where नागर is the Kanarese genitive of नागर (plur) the plural being मान्य because of नाग (the snake) being an object of worship

Now it is significant that these names ओड (Guj.), वडुर or वडर (Marāṭhi) and ओड्ड (-ट्ट) (Kanarese and other Dravidian languages) should be so allied, and this apparent affinity is explained by the wandering habits of the tribe. It is possible that the Oda tribe originally came from the Dravidian country (South India), as this history of the name indicates. This theory fits in with the name of the celebrated Oda beauty with whom Siddharāja Jayasinha fell in love,—Jasamma (जसमा), the *mi* (मा) of which can be best accounted for by the Dravidian form यमम्मा Yaśamma.

Mabel Duff, in her "Chronology of India" (P. 106) states that Rājendra Chola (1002 A. D.) numbers amongst his conquests "the country of the Oddas or Odras—i. e. Orissa." (Epigraphia Indica IV, 68; Inscriptions: Madras Christian College Magazine, V. 41; Archaeological Survey S. India, iii, 68, 95, 100, 142; iv, 77, II.). Could these be the same as *Odas*, *Vaddars*? If so, and if Orissa is the same as the Chola country, the language of that part could not be Dravidian, as Uriya is an Aryan language. Again, could Odra be identical with Andhra? Andhra is shown in Joppen's 'Historical Atlas of India' in Alexander's time where modern Orissa is, and in the 2nd century A. D. where the present time Central India is. Apte, in his Dictionary, identifies Andhra with modern Telingana, which bordered on Kalinga (which in the 2nd century A. D. is placed where the present day Orissa is).

Hemachandra, in his *Deśinimānāṭā*, I—85, gives वड्डो as meaning वृषादिमन्त्र. This would well accord with the theory that the name (as shown by the Kanarese terms मण्डु-ओड्ड and वड्डु-ओड्ड) indicated the profession of the class primarily. It is possible also that they gave their name to the countries they settled in, if they did so, considering their migratory habits in the present time. Mārkaṇḍīya, in his *Prākṛit Saṁgraha*, gives ओड्ड as a Prākṛit language of Andhra *deśa*. All these materials furnish sufficient food for investigation, but the main point which I wish to indicate remains unaffected, viz. the light occasionally thrown by single words in their linguistic connotation on the anthropological side of a country's history.

Lastly, I may indicate the action of another force on the formation of language and literature, viz the occupation of the leading classes of the population of a country. Thus *Shikar*, warfare, nautical life, etc being restricted to a small fraction of the people of Gujarat especially during the latter part of their history, and the connection of this small fraction with literature and linguistic development being very insignificant the Gujarati language exhibits a paucity or absence of words peculiar to these occupations in life. The result is that such words expressions and proverbs are relegated — limited as their existence is — to dialects of small and uncultured classes⁵⁵. Thus the names of the different varieties of birds are extremely few in Gujarati, words connected with mountain life would be a rarity and several words used by nautical people are importations from foreign languages to all appearance. Such are the words

आमेस (करवु) = to hoist,

आरिया (करवु) = to lower

दादो = the bar at the mouth of a creek or a tidal river.

This last word is from the Marathi दादा (दाण्दा), in common use in the Konkan districts which abound in creeks and such rivers, while the first two words in daily use amongst the *Kholis* may have come from Arabic or Portuguese sources—a point which requires investigation and which I have not been able to investigate yet.

These observations are enough and we may now go on to (B)—Geographical conditions as acting on the evolution of language and literature. I shall confine myself to Gujarati. The Geographical boundaries of Gujarat are well known,

⁵⁵ This fate has overtaken other vernaculars too wherever the intellectual field has been the monopoly of higher classes. An instance in point may be given. Some time about 1893 A D I asked a Havik Brahmana in N Kanara what the name of a particularly charming singing bird was. His answer was significant — 'How should we know? We are Brahmanas !

North—As far as Disū—(touching the southern limits of Mīrwar),
 East—The eastern limits of Mahkānṭhī and western limit of
 Khandesh,
 South—Konkan, beginning from Daman,
 and West—The Arabian Sea, the Gulf of Kachcha, and the Rāṇa
 of Kachcha.

As noted behind,⁵⁶ these limits have bounded the province since the time soon following the end of the 16th century A.D. During the centuries preceding that time the limits were varying, but, as we have seen before, the arrangements were simply administrative. During the earlier centuries the linguistic area marked by a common language was more extensive including Rājputāṇḍ in its scope.

At present, and during the last two centuries at any rate, the linguistic partitions of Gujarāt have been as under:—

- I. Gujarāt proper, comprizing the districts of Ahmedābād, Kaira, Panch Mahals and the Baroda territory in and about these districts.
- II. Kāṭhīrāvāḍ, i. e. the whole peninsula.
- ⁵⁷ III. South Gujarāt, comprizing the districts of Broach and Surat.

(NOTE:—The Dhilont-khrits at the foot of the hills on the East and North-East of Gujarāt must be noted as the country of Dhil language).

This area of the province generally consists of plain country, free from mountains and forests, and has very little sea-board except in parts of the west (Kathīāvāḍa and Surat). Hence, peculiar names of certain birds and animals, features of the hills and the sea, etc. are generally missing in the literature of Gujarāt.

⁵⁶ See Pp. 43-44 *supra*.

⁵⁷. These partitions are indicated on broad lines only. Minor shales are capable of being marked off by distinguishing the language peculiar to Charotar (the portion of Gujarāt lying between the Vātāk and Mahī rivers), that peculiar to North Gujarāt about Pātāṇḍ, and again that peculiar to the frontier tract about P'āṇḍ.

The physical geographical conditions leaving their effect on the physique and habits of the people also affect the phonetic features of a language. Thus in Gujarati the strong *ḥ* of Hindi is missing as a result of the strong physique and lung-power of the Hindi speaking races contrasted with the inferior physique and power of the Gujaratis.

(NOTE — Two sounds of *ḥ* are mentioned in the Paniniya *Śikṣā* — औस्व and ऋव्य. These may perhaps correspond to the strong and weak *h* sounds in Gujarati⁵⁸ though there appears some slight distinction)

Similarly the ऐ and औ sounds in Hindi which correspond to the विवृत ई and औ of Gujarati mark a more powerful vocal capacity in the North Hindustani people than that of the Gujaratis.

Then, the accentuation of words which is noticeable in Upper India and to some extent and in a different form in Kathiavads is missing in the language of Gujarat proper and South Gujarati. This accent is not the Vedic accent but a sort of emphasis and stress peculiarly marking certain syllables in words. This condition also is the result of difference in sturdiness of physical condition, the weaker Gujaratis having lost their accentuation, with the loss of physical robustness.

These cursory remarks are enough under this head. The last head (C) Phonetic forces may fitly be reserved for special treatment in the next Lecture.



58 Gujarati does possess these two sounds the weak aspirate being found in *tadblāra* words generally. I shall touch this question in a subsequent lecture.

LECTURE III

Phonetic Forces Affecting Language

As promised at the end of the last Lecture, we now examine the phonetic forces which direct the morphological course and constitution of a language. This takes us into the heart of our subject. I shall first indicate a few general principles which govern phonetic formations and mutations, and also the principles which ought to guide us in the study of linguistic development. I take up the latter first. At the outset and as indicating a general outlook on this question, I would draw attention to the great principles enunciated in Dr. Bhāndārkar's paper on "The Critical, Comparative and Historical method of Inquiry," (A lecture delivered under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay on 31st March 1888). It will be superfluous to reproduce them fully here. I mention them here only to mark the fact that they supply the atmosphere in which the principles I am just going to deal with have grown and acquired vitality. (I append at the end of this lecture a Note giving pertinent extracts from the pamphlet.) To come to these principles at once, then, the first one I would recommend is

Principles to be observed in the study of linguistic development.

I. HISTORICAL CONSISTENCY.

By this I mean that every attempted derivation of a word should be consistent with facts arrived at independently by history. Failure to respect this principle will lead us into error. Take for instance the word तमाख (Gujarātī). I have indicated in my last lecture its derivation from the Portuguese 'to'acco'; and promised to examine a fictitious etymology claimed for it.¹ This artificial derivation is from तमाख (Sanskrit). Now, the facts established by history are that tobacco was first brought into Europe from America in 1559 A. D.² and into India by the Portuguese after

1. See P. 59 *supra*, text and footnote 4th.

2. To'acco was found in smoking use amongst the American Indians at the discovery of America by Columbus. In 1559 A. D. a

But Mr Rây also relies on the *Kulîrnara tantra* (कुलार्णवतन्त्र) which names as smoking drugs काट्यूट, तात्र्यूट, धूम्रुट—and अहिपेन. The word तात्र्यूट amongst these is taken by him to mean tobacco. Is there any basis for this meaning? The Amarakośa does not give the word, and, according to one view Amara flourished about the 11th Century of the Christian era. However we may accept that तात्र्यूट was a smoking drug, and also we may not trouble ourselves about the genuineness or otherwise of the passage in *Kulîrnara tantra* but the identification of तात्र्यूट with tobacco cannot be justified. For the greatest objection to this derivation of तमाकु (Gu), तमाकु (Gu) and Bangali), exists in phonetic improbability. The word तात्र्यूट can become, in its Prâkrit or modern vernacular form either तम्ब्यूट⁵ or तम्बाड, or तम्बड, or तम्बोड, but in no case can the final ट (or ड) be elided. It would be against all known rules of phonetics. It is also worthy of note that although the various so called conflicting meanings of the word, *tobacco*, divide themselves under three heads—(1) the name of the plant, (2) the name of the island or province from which it came and (3) the name of the pipe or tube used in smoking the drug, the probability is that the last⁶ meaning was the real one and European travellers easily misunderstood it as the name

5 The retention of क is really doubtful. Philology is a science, and therefore it is very jealous of its details. It cannot afford to ignore the smallest detail. A well recognized basis of all philological derivation is that every member of a word must be accounted for, either in the word of origin or in the derived word as also in the intermediate steps. It is thus that दाह could not give दाहवी, the वी remaining unaccounted for, and दाहकि is accepted as the source-word. This principle makes Mr. Benares raise a query as to the व in दाहवि remaining unexplained in the fanciful derivation (दाहवर्ण) given by himself, (See his Vol I, Pp 343-276, also Vol III, P 65). In the present case क in the derived word and क in the source-word remain unaccounted for.

6 The *Encyclopædia Britannica* accepts this last meaning alone. It states that the name *tobacco* did not originally signify the drug or plant but came to be applied to the plant and the drug from a peculiar instrument used for inhaling its smoke by the inhabitants of Hispaniola (San Domingo). It was a Y shaped hollow wooden tube, the two ends

of the drug itself. This itself would be fatal to the ताम्रट्ठ theory. Equally fatal would be the second meaning, viz. the drug belong named after the place of its origin. Again, it is extremely improbable that ताम्रट्ठ in India and tobacco in far off distant South America should resemble each other phonetically even in a way. Such similitudo would be possible in the case of words connected with simple and primitive household life, such as मा, पा &c., but not in the case of words expressing articles incidental to a comparatively higher stage of human evolution. We need not consider the possible argument that there may have been communication between ancient India and America and that may account for the community of this smoking article between the two continents. For it rests on unscientific methods of reasoning. But even if that possibility is accepted, the phonetic difficulty noted above is a fatal bar to the derivation. As a matter of fact, as a result of being a comparatively recent foreign importation, various artificial Sanskrit forms for the word have been coined, viz. ताम्रट्ठ and तमागु as in तमागुर्वं राजेन्द्रभजमाज्ञानस्यवम्।

This much is sufficient. The next principle I recommend is
II Distrust of ex- **II. DISTRUST OF MERE EXTERNAL**
ternal Similarity. **SIMILARITY OF SOUND.**

This warning is very necessary, for we are very often tempted to be misled by external similarity. (1) The word ताम्रट्ठ just now discussed is one of several instances of this kind. Some other instances may be given to elucidate this principle.—

(2) भस्मीय—from भस्मिन् and भस्म (Sanskrit).

of the forks were inserted in the nose, and the end of the single stem was held over the smoke of burning tobacco, and thus it was smoked,—a regular नाली like process.

7. I pass over Mr. Bly's reliance on an extract from Prof. Hadley's "Head Hunters" which states that tobacco was smoked a little and was grown by the Indian Archipelago Islanders of Papua and New Guinea, before the white men came. It is inconclusive so far as the question of tobacco being indigenous in India is concerned.

Now opium was known to Theophrastus ⁸ and about 77 A D Dioscorides distinguished between an extract of the entire herb and the more active *στος* derived from the capsule alone. From the 1st to the 12th century the opium of Asia Minor was the only kind known in commerce. In the 16th century opium is mentioned by Pyres (1516 A D) as a production of the Kingdom of Cous (Kuch Bihar S W of Bhutan) in Bengal and of Malv. The Arabs introduced opium into China during the reign of Taisu about 1280-95 A D. Its introduction into India is believed to be connected with the spread of Islam ⁹.

If these facts are accepted the Sanskrit words अहिषेन and अफेन can hardly be regarded as correct derivations of the word अफीण. It is possible to argue that if opium was known to Greece as early as 77 A D it is not unlikely that it was known to India as well during these times and possibly earlier and the fact that अहिषेन and अफेन have found place in some Sanskrit dictionaries of present times may lend color to the contention. But before we accept this view we are entitled to hesitate as the connection between अफीण and its alleged Sanskrit equivalents rests on mere external similarity ¹⁰. And there are strong reasons for much hesitation.

First—the word in Gujarati is अफीण and the Sanskrit equivalents attempt a dangerously close and analytical resemblance in sound and imaginary sense—अ+फीण (=foam)—the dictionaries describe अहिषेन as opium the saliva or venom of a snake, and there is no sense ¹¹ to call it opium the foam (saliva) of a snake.

8 Encyclopædia Britannica (Ninth Edition), Vol XVII, 787 d

9 *Dhacaprakāśa Rāya Vargānta* and *Śīr gāllāra* are quoted from as mentioning opium in various names अफेन अहिषेन and आफुक. We have however to test these mentions in the independent light of comparative philology.

10 Another attempt is made in the *Śābala Kalyāṇa drama* of R'dhā Kintadeva Baladur to patch up the sense thus—अहे सर्पस्य पेन गरलमिव । अखुमत्वात् ॥ Its artificiality is obvious.

and the *हि* seems to be interpolated simply to give some semblance of a sense, अ (not) + *वेन* meaning absolutely nothing.¹¹

Secondly—The Gujarāṭī word is अफीण but in Marāṭhī it is आफू,¹² which is nearer 'opium,' अफीम (Hindustānī), अस्फन् (Arabīc and Persian), ὀπιον (ओरियान्-Greek), and it lends a strong light of probability to the belief that opium came to India with Islam. It at once shows the whole course of the word's march: अस्फन् (Persian), अफीम (Hindustānī), the *य* passing through a process like संप्रसारण and becoming इ and the ऊ yielding its length to the इ, both resulting in a long ई, and the final न् changed to म् (such changes of nasals being well-known¹³); then it branches off, in one direction to अफीण in Gujarāṭī which preserves the original न् (only changing it to ण, as it always happens in the case of transition from Prākṛit), and drops the इ; and in another direction to आफू in Marāṭhī which drops the final nasal and ignoring the ए emphasizes the ऊ as a final syllable. (The change of the initial अ to आ is peculiar to Marāṭhī-e.g. आवुभर, आनमान, आदमास &c. as spoken by certain classes).

And Thirdly and lastly—the Greek derivation leading up to ὀρός (ओरॉस) meaning 'vegetable juice, sap,' affords a fitness in sense which is infinitely better than the idea of a snake's foam, saliva, venom,—obviously far-fetched and artificial.

These considerations should justify us in looking askance at the Sanskritized form अहिंन or अवेन which must be set down as unreal, even though opium had comparatively ancient existence in India.

11. The *Sāṅgī-Kalpa-druma* has also for अवेन a laboured and artificial explanation—निदिदि वेन निदिदि दस्य दसि. This sense-निदिदिन or अद्वैतय of अ out of the six senses of न् can fairly be given to word like अवीन, अरूप &c., it does not fit in here.

12. *Madcapaulda* is said to mention आफू. But there can hardly be any doubt as to this name being manufactured from the popular word अफू derived from अस्फन्.

13. See वाग्वतार (P. 29) by Mr. Keshavalal H. Dhruva.

(8) **सुपारो** (Gujarātī)—In this word many people are tempted to see a combination of सु (=good)+पारो (=a rule). This is simply a fallacious similarity in externals. The correct derivation is from सुप्—(Sanskrit) meaning 'to improve'—Gujarātī सुप्—(not used by itself)+आरो—a Gujarātī termination which is found in वपारो from वृष् 'to increase', उपारो from उप् 'to prattle', and the like, probably derived from पार¹⁴. "Thus, the correct opposite word to सुपारो is not दुपारो (दु=bad+पारो) which people believing in the above false derivation use, but बगाडो (from बगड्डु, causal बगाड्डु, Hindi बिगडना=to get spoilt,—probably from Sanskrit विषद्).¹⁵

(4) **देवालय** is wrongly stated as the derivation of देवळ. The word देव being easily understood, the explanation for ळ must have been sought for erroneously in आलय (देव+आलय=देवालय). If we just consider for one moment, we should find that the Prakrit form of this word would be simply देवालभ (देवालयम्). It cannot correctly come to be देवलम्¹⁶. The correct derivation is देवकुळ (Sanskrit), which according to सि. दे. VIII-1-27 optionally drops the व and becomes देवळ. The व of this is turned into ळ in coming into

14 सुपारु is a causal of सुपरु, and वपारु that of वप्सु. In the latter case the आर is a causal termination and वपारो may be regarded as a noun from that. In the former, however, the original root सुप् seems to have been created from the causal looking सुपारु, in a different way. If this view is accepted, the termination आरो in सुपारो, वपारो would not be a वृत् termination. But there are other words like कपारो, धूपारो &c which cannot stand except on the basis of the वृत् termination, आरो.

15 Dr Bhāndarkar derives the word from दिवट् (See his Philological Lectures, P 141). I say probably, because an initial वृ is not changed to व in Gujarātī, as a rule. But we can regard this as a word taken from Hindi.

16 Mr Beames in his learned and extremely useful work ('A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India' Vol. II p 10) derives this word from देवालय. I see no reason to agree with him, however, although he gives देवाल (Panjabī) which *prima facie* would support his derivation. At best Panjabī may have got its word from देवालय while देवळ was derived out of देवकुळ under well recognized phonetic laws.

Gujarāṭī under the operation of an *वृत्तग* which marks an anti-*samprasarana* process. (I shall deal with this *वृत्तग* later on in the next lecture).

Thus we get *देस*—*देस*.

(5) *व्यापार* (Sanskrit) is another fallacious derivation, for *व्येपार* (Gujarāṭī). The fault will be visible at once when we consider—

- (a) that the *व* in *व्यापार* cannot possibly remain unchanged but must either become *व* or be elided;
- (b) that *व्यापार* in Sanskrit never means what *व्येपार* in Gujarāṭī does. *व्येपार* is 'trade' or 'commerce;' while *व्यापार* in Sanskrit is simply 'occupation, engagement;'
- and (c) the *वृत्त* sound of *व* in *व्येपार* can be accounted for by the *व* left after *व्य* becomes *वृ* and *व* merges with the *वृ*, in *व्यवहार*; in *व्यापार* there is no such thing to account for it:—*व्यवहार*—*व्यवहारो*—*व्यवहारो*—*व्यवहार*; then the *वृ* is thrown back and we have *व्येपार* (o Gujarāṭī word meaning—relation, communication &c). Curiously the *व* is turned into *व* either by false analogy with *व्यापार*, or by a reverse relation to *व* (cf. Beames, Vol. I, P. 330, where he traces the changes of *व* in *व* through *व*). The latter is more probable; for in *पदमणी* (dual), *पदमणी* (Prākṛit),—*पदमणी*—*पदमणी* we have this change of *व* to *व*.

The correct word for trade in Sanskrit is *व्यवहार*, and *व्येपार* (Gujarāṭī) is to be traced from that word.¹⁷

A significant light is thrown on this derivation by the fact that Padmanibha, in his *Kāśikāśāstrī Prabhāṭa* uses the word *विरदारिया* in the sense of traders, merchants:

विरदारिया वग्ग याजीया (IV-12)

विरदारिया मग्गि सग्गुग्ग (IV-228)

Compare also the following:—

17. Mr. Beames (Vol. I, P. 331) derives *वृत्त* from *व्यवहार*. I do not agree with him, for the reasons detailed above.

(1) तिहां महापन श्रेष्ठ एहवइ नामे विवहारिउ वसइ

(*Vaitāla-pancharāṣṭī*, Prose, P. 107; V. S. 1629 or thereabouts).

(2) वहेवारीयो तो अचरन पाप्मयो, आबुं मनमां वहाड

(*Rāvo Bhakta*; *Br. Kārya-Dohana* V, P. 826).

This will show that the evolutes of व्यवहार (व्यावहारिक) have been in vogue from the sixteenth century down to recent centuries.

(6) विनंति (Gujarātī) is wrongly derived from विनति (Sanskrit) simply on the strength of outward similarity. विनति does not mean 'a request,' which is the meaning of 'विनंति.' Besides, the strong अनुस्वार in नं cannot be accounted for if विनति is taken as the original word.

The correct derivation is from विज्ञप्ति which means 'a request' (exactly the meaning of विनंति), and its Prākṛit form विण्णप्ति which in coming into Gujarātī (and Marāṭhī) becomes विनति and then विनंति, the conjunct consonant त्त being simplified into simple त, the preceding vowel instead of being lengthened, takes a strong अनुस्वार, as in the case of वंरं from वरं &c.. वक्रादि गण which सि. दे. VIII-1-26 mentions in this connection is to be regarded either as an आकृतिगण,¹⁸ or as a type which is followed further on in the course of transition into Gujarātī, as happens in the case of many *utsargas*. In fact there are a number of Gujarātī words which take such an अनुस्वार and are yet outside the वक्रादिगण as enumerated in the grammar specifically; e. g.

| Sanskrit | Apabhraṃśa | Gujarātī |
|----------|----------------|---------------|
| मकंदकः | मकदड—मकदो— | मकंदो |
| छिद्रकं | छिद्वं—छिद्वं— | छीद्वं |
| पंथी | पफली | पंथी |
| पंथः | पफनु—पंथु— | पंथ |
| पंथकः | पफसड—पंथड— | पंथो (=a fan) |
| पटः | पटड—पंडु— | जंड |
| | &c. &c. | |

18. For at the end of the गण the word दयादि is added, -in the gloss of the *sūtra*. This is to be inferred constructively because no specific statement is made of its being an आकृतिगण.

[NOTE—Dr. Bhindārkar has derived *मिर्चि* (Mirchi) from *मिर्चि*. See his *Philological Lectures*, P. 177.]

(7) *कारमार* (Gujarātī)—is derived by some from (Sanskrit) *कार्यमार*, simply on external analogy, but ignoring the fact that *कार्यमार* would become *कर्मभारो* or *कर्महारो* in Prākṛit. It could not have come direct, as sometimes words do, for even in that case *कार* would not be the resulting form. *कार* is distinctly Persian—of course allied to Sanskrit *कार्यं*, but Persian, as it is, all the same, and *कारोमार* (Persian) is a well-known word and we need not feel any loss of dignity in accepting it as the parent of *कारमार* (Gujarātī). The change of *प* to *म* in *कार* appears to be the result of the Gujarātī word *भार* being very familiar.

(8) *पसंद*—is an undoubtedly Persian word and quite in familiar use in Gujarātī. Yet there are occasional attempts to connect it with Sanskrit *प्रसन्न*. In this case, in the offence of influencing external similarity is added that of ignoring the radical difference between the meanings of the two words; *पसंद* having an objective sense and *प्रसन्न* a subjective one; (*पसंद* refers to the thing that pleases, *प्रसन्न* to the person pleased). To say *दुमयंगीए नयने स्वयंवरम पसंद कयो* can be understood, but *दुमयंगीए नयने स्वयंवरमां प्रसन्न कयो* would be absurd on the face of it, if the sense to be conveyed is that in the former sentence.

(9) *दोहर*—is the name of a Taluka town in the Panch Mahals. The derivation of this word is subjected by some people to an external analytical treatment on the strength of external analogy, just as is done with the word *सुपारी*, they split it up into *दो* and *हर*, and believe that the town is so named because it stands on the common boundary of two provinces, Gujarāt and Mālwa (*दो*=two, and *हर*=boundary). Nothing could be more artificial. The correct¹⁹ derivation is from *दधियद*—(Prākṛit) *दधियद-दोहरद-दोहर* which is the name really current in the country, *दोहर* being manufactured subsequently to suit the artificial derivation. (Even now

19. This derivation was first pointed out by the late H. H. Dhruva (See *Deccan Herald*, A.D. 1893 April).

दहेवद is the name used by local residents and others, belonging to certain classes). There is a Dahivad in the Chandrad Taluka of the Nasik District, and the second member वद (from Sanskrit पद=a village, Prakrit वद्) is to be found in the names of a number of towns and villages, e g. इळवद, नडियाद (from नदपद), चढोदरा (from चदपद, here the पद has retained and split off its र), नांरोद (नन्दपद).

(10-, (11), and (12) —Similar false analysis of externals is wrongly resorted to in the case of पापड, माशी and आजो पापड is split up into पा+पड (one quarter (पा) of a layer (पड) because it is so thin), when in fact it is from पर्पट a possible *desya* word Sanskritized and originally coined on the basis of the crackling sound the article makes when being eaten माशी is similarly split up into मा+शी (=मा जेयी, as good as a mother), when really it is from मातृप्यसा (Sanskrit), मातृसिआ²⁰ (Prakrit), (cf मावशी Marāṭhī),

[Note —The absence of a masculine from मावशी in Marāṭhī to denote a मावशी's husband, is due to this derivation, where it is inherently impossible to say मावसा The Gujarati मासो (=माशी's husband) is obviously²¹ a manufactured masculine based on misconception]

आजो—(the *Śrāddha* ceremony of one's maternal grandfather) is similarly subjected to the splitting process—आ+जा, i e come and go, being welcome and at the same time unwelcome, the reason being that this *Śrāddha* can be performed only when the father of the grandson is alive This derivation is at once knocked on the head when we see that the word comes from आयं (Sanskrit), अजो (Prakrit), (cf आज्ञा Marāṭhī, wherein it signifies a paternal grand father equally)

20 See *Siddha Hemacandra VIII* : 134

21 'Karpūra manjarī (P 32, Harvard Edition) has मातृच्छओ व मातृसिओ, मातृसिओ (=माशी's husband) Evidently this artificial manufacture then is as old as Rājasekhara (about 900 A D) It should be remembered that Rājasekhara's dramatic Prakrit seems too often artificial and manufactured

III ARTIFICIALITY OF DERIVATION TO BE AVOIDED.

III Artificiality of derivation to be avoided.

This principle is, in a way, part of the principle just mentioned above; but it admits of separate consideration, as its scope does not always coincide with that of the last named principle. Only two instances may be given here:

(1) विधवा—The general belief is that this word comprizes two parts, वि and वा (=a husband); "one who is deprived of her husband." But comparative philology discloses the fact that *vidua* in Latin is one compact word and there is no possibility of that word being split up into *vi* and *dua*. The inference is that *vidua* (Lat.) and विधवा (Sanskrit) came from a common source, and the derivation वि+वा was artificially created.²²

(2) दम्पती, meaning husband and wife, is derived very artificially by Śāyāṇāchārya and others from जाया+पतिः and दम् is here regarded by a mere fiction as a form of जाया. It really has no such sense, nor is the phonetic change possible. On the other hand, modern scholars are agreed that the Vedic दम्=a house (Lat. domus) is represented here by दम्, दम्पती meaning the two masters of the house; viz., the husband and wife.

IV. BREVITY or लघुत्व.

IV. Brevity. This is an important principle but a good deal depends upon the interpretation one puts upon this term. अर्धमात्राजपेन पुनोक्तं मन्वते वैयाकरणाः is a parallel

22. *Widuer* and विधु may be compared. The latter derived from वि+धु must be as artificial as वि+वा=विधवा. The *er* in *widuer* must be some form corresponding to the *o* of विधु and not the usual English termination, possessive, active or the like. Lat. *viduus*= 'lacking' is regarded as a word coined out of *vidua* viewed as an adjective meaning 'widowed,' 'deprived'; a masculine word created from the feminine form. The Century Dictionary suggests 'विधु' is probably from the root *वि* to lack. I find no such meaning of वि. M. Williams conjectures *वि* to be the root. विधु bears the primary sense of "afflicted" and then indirectly 'a widower.' There is the word विधु which Śāyana renders as "a widow." Thus a decisive light is thrown against the artificial derivation वि+वा and वि+धु.

which has its own application and scope. How far it can be adopted in the field of comparative philology is a matter for serious consideration. I shall therefore analyze this principle in its application in our field of inquiry, with a view to go to the root of the thing. Brevity or *उपव*, then, has two distinct applications

- (1) The fewer the steps through which one has to pass, the greater the brevity. This may be called *क्रमउपव* or the *brevity of steps*. This kind of *उपव* has its applicability in subjects like mathematics, logic and all subjects where fixed factors of a special final shape find play.
- (2) The discovery of the fewest common principles which run through a number of different particular cases, the reducing of many into one, is the function of the second kind of *उपव*. It may be called *बीजउपव* or the *brevity of principle*. This form of *उपव* has its applicability in subjects like history, study of language and the like, where vital progress and evolution are the active factors. *क्रमउपव* can have no place in such studies. For instance, we cannot insist that the human race should have passed through the fewest number of steps in going from one stage of evolution to another, or that the words in a language should undergo the fewest changes in reaching their final shape.

In both the kinds of *उपव* economy is the underlying factor, but while in *क्रमउपव* there is economy of effort or energy, in *बीजउपव* there is economy of material. It is very rarely and in quite a secondary manner that *क्रमउपव* can have any influence in the study of the growth of language. In attempt to introduce the test of *क्रमउपव* in inquiries where *बीजउपव* is the proper test is like trying to measure grain with a yard measure instead of with a bushel. Of course the distinction between the two kinds of *उपव* is with regard to the application of principles for even in subjects like mathematics, philosophy and science, and such inquiries into the inner nature of things the process of unification and reduction to a common principle is always resorted to. The

subject of grammar admits of both the principles, *बीजलापय* and *व्रमलापय*—more or less. It is there that the *अभेदाभासप्रतिपत्तिः* is regarded as the pet principle of *Vaiyākaranas* (grammarians).

A few instances in the case of linguistic derivation, will make the above remarks clear.—

- (a) *यहोदर* (the name in Gujarati of Baroda, the capital of the *Gujarat*). An artificial derivation of this is *यहोदर* (*यट + उदर*). Of course this requires the lowest number of steps in phonological change, and, if *व्रमलापय* were our testing principle, we should at once accept this derivation. But a wide survey of words and a search for common underlying factors, in short, the test of *बीजलापय*, will disclose to us the correct derivation *यटपद*, which shares the factor *पट* (= a village, a town) so common with *घाणोद*, *नादोद*, *नदियार*, *दरदार* &c.

[I actually find such an attempt as *यट + उदर* in an old publication, named *Apabhraṣṭa Śabda chandrika* by Prabhakara Parichhadra Pandit of Baroda (A. D. 1878). It is an etymological vocabulary of Marathi words. Against the word, *यहोदर* he gives as under —

“यहोदर, यट + उदर, यहाँ यहाची मादी या यहाच्या आगपास पार होती म्हणून हे नाव”

Luckily, however, he adds — “कोठे यटपट्ट असे दि आदळत.”]

- (b) *दाहोद*—The derivation *दो + उदर* would be pleasing to worshippers of *व्रमलापय* but, for²³ reasons given just above in the case of *यहोदर*, *दधिपद* will be accepted as the correct origin in pursuance of the principle of *बीजलापय*.
- (c) *घाणोद*—*घाणोद* (= a donkey). The advocates of *व्रमलापय* would derive this from *घाणो* ('a thing which shuts off, prevents'), the only change necessitated being *घ* to *ग*.

But we can at once see that *दर* which “alternately becomes *दर* and *घर* in Prakrit, supplies *दर* to Marathi and *घर*²⁴ as well as *घाणो* to Gujarati (*घर* being peculiar to Kathiawar) thus supplying a common factor in two vernaculars

²³ See also the explanation II-(9) at p. 11.

²⁴ *घाणो* would have this *घर* as well as *दर*. This is an example of the fact that the factor *घर* is common to both *दर* and *घाणो*. Again, an initial *घ* is not 'changed' to *ग*.

The *यु* added to *वार* is a change from *ह* of the *ह* termination so very frequent in *Apabhramśa* and Gujarati (corresponding to the *य* termination of Sanskrit)

[The change of *द* to *ण* is noticed in words like

(1) कदिदोरो—कडदोरो—कणदोरो—कंदोरो (=a waist band).
(cf Marathi कडदोरा)

(2) कुडुम्बी (Sanskrit)—कुडुम्बी (Prakrit)—कुळबी, कुणबी (Marathi)—कणबी (Gujarati)

(3) ततुक्क—(*Apabhramśa*) ततुटड (Gujarati) तातणो

(4) पडचा (Deśya) पणउ (Gujarati).

The reverse process is seen in the form आपड (G) from आपड (G) thus evidencing the affinity between *ह* and *ण* the latter being nasalized *ह*. I find in the *Dodāka triti* (copied in V S 1672) अपडड (on *S; Hc VIII-iv-367*) as also अपणड (on *S; Hc VIII iv-350*) it would seem the change is at least as old as V S 1672]

(d) न्हाउ (Gujarati)—furnishes a very powerful instance of बीजलक्षर, thus—Sanskrit न्दण has two alternative Prakrit forms—उण्ड and सण्ड, through the former we have (through नण्ड) the Gujarati न्हाउ and Marathi उहान, while through the latter we get the Sindhi सण्डो²⁵ (=thin), Kanarese सण (=small), and Konkani साण (=small)

(उहान सडान—a double barrelled²⁶ Marathi word so also the Gujarati न्हाउसड seem to possess the representatives of both the Prakrit forms उण्ड and सण्ड)

to *व* in Gujarati (The case of द्वार-वर is different as the *व* there is not purely initial) Then a minor flaw is that द्वार really means a doorway while वारण, if any such word existed for it, would signify 'the leaf of a door'

25 There is another word in Sindhi नदो=Young this comes from उण्ड, the alternative to सण्ड. The *ह* of उण्ड aspirates the *ण* peculiarly and gives us ण्ड just as चिह becomes चिच optionally (सि हे VIII-ii-50)

Mr Beames is hardly correct in tracing this Sindhi नदो to Sanskrit नद (=a son)—See his Vol I P 330 नद by the way does not mean 'a son' नन्दन does

26 Cf Gujarati डोरडाखर, राखरचीड, माणसकूणस, गुणचूप, छानुमान, दोसाडगा,

Thus a common factor is found pervading in as many as five languages,—Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Kānaḍī (Kanarese), Sindhī, and Konkani, by taking *अद्* as the derivative, and, further, even the second members of the double-barrelled words, *उद्दान उद्दान* and *उद्दानं मनुं*, are also explained satisfactorily and referred to a common origin. Here is a pre-eminent instance of *बीजछाप*.²⁷

- (e) *वेसनुं* (Gujarātī)—The late Śītrī Vrajālī Kālidā²⁸ and some present day scholars who should have known better, derive this word from the pure root *विम्* (Sanskrit),—ignoring the fact that *विम्* means 'to enter' whereas *वेसनुं* signifies 'to ait.'²⁹ They seem to be attracted by the *बमछाप* in the change of *य* to *व* and *इ* to *ए* (*य* to *यू* being of course added). But the correct derivation from *वपिन्* (=to ait) will furnish a common factor between (i) *वपिनि* (Sanskrit), *वपिसह* (Prākṛit),

वपुं वपुं &c. &c. &c. There are a number of such double-barrelled words in Gujarātī, as there are similar ones in Marāṭhī.

27. Hemachandra derives *उद्* from *उद्म* also (सि. हे. VIII ii 73 and VIII-i-118). But the facts that in both these *śītras* *उद्म* is the only word for which provision is made and that the naturally evolved form of *उद्म*, viz. *उदुमं* (through *उदं*) is put down by him as *Ārāṭa*, lead me to suspect that having found *उद्* and *उद्* both in actual use in the books, and in the sense of 'fire,' he overlooked his own *śītras* (VIII-ii-77, and 79) giving *उद्* as well as *उद्* from *उद्म*, and fell himself under the necessity of deriving the *उद्* and *उद्* from *उद्म*. Otherwise the *उ* in *उद्* could easily have been accounted for by the principle underlying his *śītras* VIII, i 32 to 33.

If, however, we accept *उद्* as derived from *उद्म*, the *मनुं* in the Gujarātī double word, *उद्दानं मनुं*, can be traced to this source; the combination of *उद्म* and *उद्म* in *उद् उद्* would be like Gujarātī *बनीबुगनी*, *बनीबुग* &c., where words of the same sense make up the double word.

28. See his *उत्तरमंथन* P. 114 (1870 A.D. edition). The late Navahin Lakshmināth too has followed Vrajālī Śītrī in this matter. (See 11. *गुजराती*, भाग 2, P. 66)

29. Mr. Keshavnāth D. Datta has tried to get over this difficulty by advancing the theory that *उद्* is dropped from *वपिन्*, *वपिन्* then *विम्*

उपविशद्, उपविशद्, उपविशद्—रति (Gujarati)³⁰ on the one hand, and (Sanskrit) प्रविशति (= enters), Prākṛit पविशद्—पविशद्—रति (Gujarati) on the other

changes to वेस् See the Preface to his translation of गीतगोविन्द, 2nd Edition, where (at P 16) he says —

“उपरंतं पहेला सर्गना चोधा प्रथमां निध्यायति ने स्थाने ध्यायति अने सातमा सर्गना चोधा प्रथमां नि ध्यायति ने स्थाने ध्यायति वापर्यांछे, ते गुजरातीमां उपविश ने स्थाने घेसे वगेरे वपर्यांछे ते ज मुजव प्राकृतप्रतिया अहसार वापर्यांछे. आरी ज रीते वरमा सर्गना पहेला प्रथमां परिचरण ने स्थाने चरण वापर्यांछे जोनामां आवेछे. आ प्रयोगो देसीता संस्कृत प्रतिया निरुद्ध ज छे.”

Mr Keshavlal Dhruva suggests here in his concise style of discourse, that some roots with *upasargas* in passing into Prākṛit, drop their prefixes and yet retain the sense modified by the prefixes, उपविश being (according to him) an instance in point. Whatever truth there may be in this theory of his (giving only one instance, which, by the way, is wrong), this much is certain that उपविश is not an instance in point.

I acknowledge that in the 3rd and 4th Editions Mr K H Dhruva has abandoned this instance (उपविश) and brought in निशामद्—समञ्ज (G.) as a supporting instance, and he further refers us to his Notes on Bhāṇḍarī's *Kadambarī* Note on P 69, l 13, where the instances given are सर्वथ—वधार् (G.), निमि—मेळ (G.), निवृ—पोड (G.), निर्णय—गमाव, गुमाव (G.), अविवाह्य—रद्द (G.), वि+मञ्—डंन (G.), सवन्न—वन (G.), &c, and adds विश्व—सम्पु (G.), परिवृ—दासी (G.), (पर्युक्ति). This is not the place to examine each of these instances in detail, but an intelligent glance shows each and all to be far fetched, fanciful and unwarranted examples.

In any case, the objections shown by me in the text apply to the treatment of वेसु on Mr. K H Dhruva's lines also.

30 The justification of this derivation and the reasons for discarding the derivation from विद् stand on independent grounds also. These are briefly —

- (1) That विद् does not mean 'to sit,' but 'to enter',—whereas उपविश means 'to sit' (वेसु);
- (2) That the विद् sound in वेसु can not be explained if विद् alone is taken as the source-word, whereas it can be accounted for by the अद् in वदम् which is obtained by the dropping of the unaccented initial उ of उदम्, as I
- (3) That the change of व to व does not occur in Gujarati when the

(g) अजीङ् (Gujarātī).—Hindi जङ्.

An attempt is made to derive these words from जुष्टं (Sanskrit). No doubt, this would secure क्रमलाघव, as जुष्टं—जुष्टु—जुङ् involve but two steps (ष्ट to ढ and the dropping of ष and lengthening of the preceding vowel उ), but the final stage अजीङ् will require two further steps, (1) the change of ऊ to ई, and (2) the addition of अ at the beginning. But we find in the word, उच्छिष्टं (=leavings of eaten food), the true source-word; for it accounts for the Marāṭhī उष्टं, Hindi जङ्, and Gujarātī अजीङ् simultaneously thus:—

Gujarātī—अजीङ्.—(Sanskrit) उच्छिष्टं, (Prākṛit) उच्छिष्टुं—(संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व) उछीष्टुं—(छ to ज) उजीष्टुं, (उ to अ) अजीष्टुं; Marāṭhī—उष्टं—(Sanskrit) उच्छिष्टं, (Prākṛit) उच्छिष्टुं—mixing up of छि and ष, resulting in the change of छ to प—उष्टं; Hindi जङ्—(Sanskrit) उच्छिष्टं—(Prākṛit) उच्छिष्टुं—उजीङ् (as in Gujarātī); (unaccented initial vowel dropped) जीङ्, (ई to ऊ, स्वराणांस्वराः) जुङ्.³²

- I may observe incidentally that जुप् does not bear in Sanskrit any meaning which would come near उच्छिष्टम्. Pāṇini's पातुपाठ and Vrajālīl Śāstri's पातुसंग्रह (which is compiled from Pāṇini's, Hemachandra's and Bopadeva's works) give प्रीति, सेवन; परितर्कण परितर्पण;—प्रेम करवो, सेवतुं; तर्ककरवो, हणतुं, मृत्त करतुं, as the meanings.

Dr. Bhāndārkar derives जङ् from उत्सृष्टकं (Wilson Philological Lectures, P. 165). But I have a reason for preferring उच्छिष्टकं, which will be soon stated under another head, (VI, below).

I need not multiply instances to illustrate this principle of बीजलाघव.

V. ADHERENCE TO HISTORICAL ORDER.

In this I include the recognition of the Prākṛits that have intervened between Sanskrit and our present day

V. Adherence to historical order. vernaculars in the course of their evolution. It won't do, for instance, to jump at once from Sanskrit to the vernaculars and ignore the intermediate Prākṛit steps. Such a course would be क्रमलाघव with a vengeance.

One result of such ignoring is that several writers in their

32. Or, better still,—(ई to ऊ as a reflex of the initial उ) उङ्ग, then जुङ्.

devotion to Sanskrit write *सज्जु* for *सज्जु*, *प्रगट* for *प्रगट* &c., in the face of the facts that the words actually in use in Gujarati are *सज्जु*, *प्रगट* &c., and that in coming from the Sanskrit originals *स* becomes *स*, *क्* becomes *ग* and the *र* in *प्र* is retained under the well-known *Apaśhranta* influence.

Again, it was through this sort of ignoring of the intermediate Prākṛit stage that the late Navalram Lakshminarain in his *व्युत्पत्तिपाठ* derived words like *सुनो*, *आक* &c. direct from *सुन*, *भक्त* &c; and *नम* direct from *मनसा*, (not through *महसा* and then, by the loss of the aspirate, *मसा*). (See his *व्युत्पत्तिपाठ*, P. 70, उदाहरणं 22).

Finally, the absurdity to which this ignorance can be carried may be seen in the derivation by some one of the word *बदेन* from *भगिनी* thus:—

भ becomes *ब*, *गि* becomes *दे*, and *नी* becomes *न* !

I need not dwell at any further length on this head.

VI. ACTUAL USE IN LANGUAGE.

This principle can be applied on the one hand to the

VI. Actual use in language. question regarding the derived languages (as in the case of *सज्जु*, *प्रगट* &c., noticed above; and so far this principle and the last one are linked

together), and, on the other hand, to the language of origin. Thus, take the word *उत्पुष्टक* from which *उत्त* is derived by Dr. Bhindikar. But in discarding this derivation I am influenced, amongst other considerations,³³ by the principle enunciated here; for *उत्पुष्टक* does not appear to have been in vogue in the sense of 'rejected food', whereas *उच्छिष्ट* is found in use:—

मोच्छिष्टं कम्पयिद् दद्यात् (Manu Smṛiti. II-56).

VII. CONDITIONS SUFFICIENT FOR GENERALIZATION.

Very strict principles of induction would require an

exhaustive search for particular instances

to justify the arriving at of a general rule.

This may be possible in the case of physical

sciences. Even there, however, it is hardly pos-

VII. Conditions sufficient for generalization.

33. These are already stated above under Head IV.

sible to wait till every particular case in the world is collected and considered, and students of science have to rest content with a sufficiently large number of cases to base their conclusions upon. In the case of linguistic investigation, however, this principle has further limitations, owing to the peculiar nature of the subject. The student of the growth of languages may find it difficult to gather more than a few instances some times very few, and yet he would feel justified and free to enunciate a rule governing them, even if it be an exceptional cases. For language too often follows a course which appears wilful, erratic and unaccountable. I recognize, as Mr. Beames has observed,³¹ that strictly speaking no phonetic changes can really be exceptional in the sense of being without a cause; they must come under some principle undiscovered owing to our incomplete knowledge. And yet, what account can we give of the change of त to क in वक्रिय (Gujarati) (= a co-wife) from Sanskrit सपत्नी,

84 "My method of reasoning does not admit of the usual slipshod way of accounting for the difficulty by setting it down to 'caprice' or 'lawless license'. There is a reason for every thing in this world, if we can only find it out, and if we cannot find it out it is only honest to say so not to try and cover our ignorance by saying there is no law."

(Beames' 'Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,' Vol II, P. 22).

Also,—“It is easy to talk, as some authors do, of the 'lawless license' of Indian etymology, but this is only a confession of ignorance, it amounts to saying that because we cannot find, the reasons for any particular change, therefore there are no reasons at all, the blind mole says there is no sun because he cannot see the day light. Reasons there must be, and it is our business to try and find them out, or at any rate in this early stage of inquiry into the elements of the modern Indian languages, we may perhaps be satisfied if we can point out some slight indications which, if followed up hereafter, may lead later inquirers into a discovery of the full and perfect system.” (Ibid, Vol. I, Pp 204 5).

Prākṛit सयनी¹³ (or सयनी); the only other instance of such change being that of यदीक from भीति ?

It may be that, as is very often seen, defective hearing causes fanciful changes which stick. Defective lingual power may in this case have also changed the स in य, as even now we find some Vāṇias say से instead of के in expressions like दे दे ? , and the reverse in चार्थी के पांच गयी for चार्थी से पांच गयी. This gains strength from the defective tendency in some children and even grown up persons which makes them pronounce gutturals as dentals—o. g. तेरेछे for करेछे; पारं for सारं; दयो for गयो, पर for घर:—thus showing some latent phonetic affinity between gutturals and dentals. If this is true, Mr. Beames can claim that this kind of phonetic affinity is the underlying principle in the case of गार्थ्य. But this sort of argument would open the door of scientific theory to all rare and individual or limited happenings, such as those of children.

Paucity of particular instances, however, must be as a rule regarded as a reason for caution, and the careful student will always try and ascertain whether these instances cannot be differently accounted for by bringing them under some other general rule, and he will also try to discover where the error lies, if there be error. On the other hand, he will not be deterred by the mere fact of a paucity of instances, if independent tests of probability or permanent principle support his theory which governs only a few instances. Thus, to take an example:—

अरनय (Gujarātī) can be traced back to Sanskrit अभिनय, the intermediate changes being अटिनय, अदनय, भरनय. (The ह is lost as in the case of several other words, तीक्ष्ण-निष्ठ-तीक्ष्ण, विदल-विदल-वीक्ष; पदभ-पदद-पदद-पदद-पदद-पदद-पदद; नायक-नायक-नायक-नायक-नायक-नायक-नायक; पदद-पदद-पदद, &c. &c.) Now, it is

35. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar accepts the form सयनी (Wife in P. 144). This gives rise to the necessity of explaining the word in the text as the dropping of the initial स. But it is interesting that Hindi has सयनी, in line with the view that सयनी is derived from सयनी (from सयनी Sanskrit) the process of सयनी having split into सयनी, सयनी, सयनी.

difficult to discover any other instance falling under this rule of changing *भ* to *व्ह*³⁶. Yet in the light of a number of collateral as well as covering principles this case receives the stamp of truth, these principles are —

- (a) The reverse process, *व्ह* to *भ*, is visible in the case of *निर्वाह* — *निष्वाह*, (*ह* thrown back) *निव्हाउ*, *निमाव* (Gujarātī). Similarly, *विभूति* (*ह* added) *विभूती*,³⁷ *भभूती* (Gujarātī).

These instances mark a further progress of the same principle enunciated by Hemachandra in *व्होभोवा॥* *सि दे* VIII-11-57, which gives us *जिह्वा*—*जिह्मा*—*जीम* (Gujarātī), thus establishing a phonetic relation between *व्ह* and *भ*³⁸.

- (b) *व* and *व* are freely interchangeable, bearing, great phonetical affinity, and *भ* is aspirated *व*. Thus the *भ* in *अभिनव* gets partially split up into *व* and *ह* and then come *र+ह*, I say partially because it is not like the full splitting up found in *वहिणी*, the Prākṛit form of *भगिनी* (Sanskrit), although, no doubt, in Gujarātī the *व*

36 It must be noted that this change occurs only during an intermediate phonetic stage which may not necessarily be found in actual writing. However the instance of *देवाव्हो* given later on below will show that at least in the case of that word the change is formed in the final stage of the word.

37 This instance may be regarded by some as a doubtful case, on the ground that *सि* is not changed to *दी* nor is *भू* changed to *हू* as would be expected in Prākṛit phonetics. But it is possible to class this case as one of *संज्ञातद्धव* : i.e. a word derived in Gujarātī direct from Sanskrit without the interposition of Prākṛit, and in such cases the phonetic changes of Prākṛit do not appear invariably.

38 *उभ*, given as an alternative ; *defa* of *ऊर्ध्व*, in *सि दे* VIII-11-59 can be explained in the light of the principle underlying this for *ऊर्ध्व* dropping the *र* and cleaving the pure *ह* from *ध* gives *उह्व*—*उह* and *ह* is changed to *भ*.

As Mr Beames has well pointed out (Vol I P 359), when *ह* is combined with the semi vowels *व* or *व* these become *व्ह* and *व*, and then in this mixed nexus the *ह* ends by merely aspirating the strong letter. (This is the analysis of *ह* becoming *श* and *व्ह* becoming *भ*.)

and reunite again into the partial union वृ in वृत् .
(Marāṭhi preserves the disruption and has वरीण.).

Marāṭhi वृण् (=to speak, to say) from Skr. वण् also indicates the same process: व split up into वृ and ण , and in this case the वृ nasalizes वृ into वृ . The reverse process is visible in भेंग (G.) from महिषी (Skr.), where वृ in the intermediate step मृहिणी gets turned to वृ plus a nasalization of the vowel, and then वृ fuses together into वृ .

(c) In Bangālī there is no व sound and वृ is written by them as भ , भिन्दोरिया for विन्दोरिया . This also indicates the phonetic affinity between वृ and भ .

Thus, in spite of there being only one instance, the rule about the change of व to वृ acquires a right to acceptance. In fact it is but an instance of one or two wider principles covering a number of instances, viz. the phonetic affinity between वृ and वृ , the aspiration of the stronger member in a mixed nexus by the aspirate वृ , and the reversal of the process. Further support is found in the relation of वृ and वृ disclosed by the वृ in Sanskrit वृ (=to desire) = Lat. *libet* = It pleases—findings a reflexion in the v (which is somewhat like वृ) in English '*love*'. There is one more word which partly illustrates this *utarga* about the change of वृ to वृ :—partly, because the वृ is changed to वृ and not to वृ :— भयप्यावृत्तः (Sk.), भयप्यावृत्त (Ap.), भेदावृत्ति (G.). This will show that the *utarga* is not entirely a *संक्रमणोत्तम*.

To take up now the general principles which govern phonetic mutations and formations. I may refer to a *General principles governing phonetic mutations and formations.* useful observation regarding the nature of phonetic changes which the writer on Philology in the *Encyclopædia*³² Britannica has incidentally made. He says:—

"In language there are two kinds of sound changes, that which is unconscious, universal at a given time and within a given area, and on the other hand that which belongs only to a

³² Vol. XXXI, P. 674 (Ninth Edition—VIIIth of the 'encyclopædic' volumes).

particular class or clique, deviates consciously from the pronunciation of the majority, is therefore not universal, and exercises no permanent influence on the language."

How far this classification of sound-change would apply to the case of Gujarātī may be considered. I may at once state that a number of phonetic changes and resulting forms may only *apparently* belong to the latter class, i. e. conscious and artificial sound-change, for they can be shown to fall under the former, as following recognizable phonetic laws, for instance, the several word-forms which have been advocated in the cause of reform of spelling during the last three decades, and adopted by an appreciable number of people, viz. the recognition of the partially aspirated consonants, the wide (विद्वत्) sound of ए and ओ, &c. As I hope to show later on, these forms can be brought under fixed philological laws, and consequently they cannot be set down as the artificial creation of a clique or class, especially because they actually exist in spoken language and were excluded only from the artificial system of writing introduced by the Educational Department of the State some 40 years ago. On the other hand, that description of artificiality may properly fit the attempt of several persons to pronounce the same words as mentioned above either without the aspirate or with the aspirate split apart, and even *strengthened*; e. g. क़ेछे or क-हे-छे (or क-हे-छे) instead of कहेछे, which is the actual, natural and fairly universal mode of pronunciation.

We may leave this point here, and note the several important factors which cause phonetic changes in a

Phonetic decay: language with special reference to the Gujarātī
four causes of cor- language. The late Vrajālal Śāstri⁴⁰ enumer-
ruption enumer- ates four causes of corruption of Sanskrit words,
ated by Vrajālal viz. (1) अज्ञान (i. e. ignorance), (2) वेग (i. e. hurry,
Śāstri. rapidity in pronunciation), (3) अनभ्यास (i. e. want of proper

40. Gujarātī Bhāṣhāno Itihāsa, P. 20 (A. D. 1866 edition).

practice), and (4) जिह्वाक्षी (i. e. defective lingual aptitude).

*The six forces that
check decay, ac-
cording to Dr.
Bhindārkar.*

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhindārkar in discussing pho-
netic decay speaks of six forces which arrest
the progress of decay and those that give
rise to phonetic decay, viz. (1) Education.

(2) Necessity of being intelligible enforcing
carefulness, (3) A sense of refinement, (4) Formation of litera-

ture, (5) Defective hearing, in the case of a firm contact, and

(6) Defective constitution of the vocal

*A comparison of
these two diagnoses*

organs.⁴¹ Comparing these two diagnoses of
the corruption of language, we find a certain

relation, as corresponding or opposing forces, between the two;
thus:—

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| (1) Education | } against | (1) अज्ञान |
| (3) A sense of refinement | | |
| (4) Literature | | |
| (2) Carefulness | } against | (2) वेग |
| (5) Defective hearing | | (3) अनवधार |
| and (6) Defective vocal organs | against | (4) जिह्वाक्षी. |

No detailed treatment of these factors is necessary. I may,

however, only deal with जिह्वाक्षी, defective

*I. Phonetic decay;
जिह्वाक्षी—defective
vocal organs.*

vocal organs. This feature comes into play
when alien races try to pronounce unfamiliar
sounds in words used by each other, or it may

happen that in one and the same country certain classes of people,
owing to defective training or to racial causes, mispronounce cer-
tain sounds. Thus, the Western races are as a rule unable to
pronounce dental consonants in Sanskrit and in our vernaculars
correctly; e. g. the Sanskrit अ प द ध न are sounded by them too
much like the cerebrals ट ठ ड ढ ण, and, on the other hand, the मृद्वन्त्य
sound of द् and ढ् in our vernaculars, as in पोढ़ी, दाढ़ी, is pronounced
by them as 'r' and 'rh' respectively, so much so that even some
noted European writers on the philology of the Indian Verna-

41. Western Philological Lectures, pp. 10-11.

culars represent these मूर्धन्यतर sounds by the letters 'r' and 'rh'⁴² instead of 'd' and 'dh', 'r' and 'rh' being the nearest approach they can make to the real sounds. Without boasting it may be asserted that while the Western races fail in the matter of pronouncing oriental sounds, and even the Persians and other Asiatic foreigners exhibit the same defect, the Indian Brahmana can successfully pronounce the sounds of his own language as also those of languages foreign to him. Centuries of pure traditions in this respect due to the Brahmana's strict regard for correct pronunciation, support him in this aptitude, and account for it. It was this devotion to accuracy of pronunciation that lay at the root of the Śruti⁴³ enjoining not to pronounce barbarously, the word used as a verb therein being identical with barbarous pronunciation.⁴⁴

42, For instance see Beames Vol I, P 73, where he uses r and rh to represent ढ and ढ though in one place he also uses d. It seems he makes some fine distinction between d and r—which I confess my inability to comprehend. It must be said for the foreigners that there is a certain amount of phonetic affinity between r rh and ढ-ढ, as can be seen from a comparison of their स्थान and प्रयत्न, and from the change of Sanskrit रुर to Marathi रुढे, (the र and the aspirate in the विसर्ग being = rh), and also from the change of दोषक to दोहो-दोहो (The माधवानल-दोषध्वज is composed in दोह entirely, the text of the poem itself has the word दोषक). The change of कुशरक (Skr) to कुशडो (G) also marks this change of र to ढ.

A glance at Pp 234-5 Vol I of Mr Beames work will show that the defect in his advocacy lies in the fact that he takes as his basis the शिवादीप of the Indian peasant in pronouncing English words whereas the proper basis of comparison would be the cultured gentleman of the East and that of the West.

43. तस्माद्ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छिष्ये वापमानिषे ॥ also उपनिषायां स म्लेच्छ तस्मात् ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेय (Satapatha Brāhmana का० ३ प्र पा १-५-११ ३ अध्या०-२-१-२४)

44 Mr Beames (Vol I, p 233) states that the Indians possess the triodontals and the higher cerebrals (i.e. what I call मूर्धन्यतर) but not the middle or intermediate cerebrals (i.e. they do not possess the ordinary मूर्धन्य sounds ट to ण). I think his observation is defective. If he had

However, as hinted above, even amongst the Indian population there are classes the members of which are noted for want of purity of pronounciation. For instance, some Indians will always pronounce 'is' as 'ij' (the 'z' like sound being impossible to their tongue-power). Similarly there are many delicate shades of sound in the English language which few Indians are able to master, and Englishmen at once detect the minute defects and un-English ring in their pronounciation. Again, certain Vāṇias in Gujaraṭ sound the न as ण and vice versa, thus marking a strange defect, if it can be called one, for it is not that they cannot at all sound the one letter or the other, they can sound both, but in the wrong place; for मण (=a maund) they would say मन and for वने (=near) वणे. It is more a case of faulty observation and of want of care than physical or physiological defect. The latter kind of defect is noted in men (Vāṇias, Kāṇatis, Brahma Kshatriis &c.) who pronounce ङ as ण or ङ &c. A true case of defective vocality was that of a Parsi (a typical representative of the class)—known in a subordinate court at Surat many years ago—who, when required to write ढ or ढ, honestly asked :—"दासभाई एरो एणुं के दोसभाईनी दरो ?" (really दोसभाईनी दरो). He could perceive the distinction between ढ and ढ, but had not the vocal power to pronounce them differently. This is the case of the incapacity of a class. Cases of individual

only compared the sound of ङ and ङ at the beginning of the words (as in दण्ड, दण्ड, दण्ड, दण्ड) which are the intermediate cerebral, with the sound of the same letters when uninitial (as in नीड, वीदने, लीड, ग्री (Skr) and पीडी, डडी (G.)), he would have perceived his error so far. He is not quite unconscious of this, for at P. 73 of Vol. I. he says—

"At the beginning of a word, or when forming part of a prefix, ङ and ङ are sounded d and ḍ respectively. But in other situations they take the sound of hard ṇ and ṭh."

As to ङ, ḍ being anything but intermediate cerebral, it is difficult to conceive how any one could err in his observation. ङ is perhaps the only higher cerebral which cannot easily be an intermediate cerebral, unless it be in the highly artificial Prakrit and Pāli words beginning with न, no other language has words with an initial ङ. However, in the double compound न्, the latter is necessarily sounded as an intermediate cerebral.

incapacity are well-known and numerous, as that of a Persian teacher who always pronounced क as त, rebuking his pupil thus: "अरे बोल ताफ ! (meaning काफ)--अय् नामाकूड ! मैं ताफ बोलता हूँ और तू ताफ तायंतु बोलता है ?"

[The correct sound would give the sentence thus —

अय् नामाकूड ! मे काफ बोलताहूँ और तू ताफ कायकु बोलता है ?]

So much for phonetic decay. Another principle noted by Dr. Bhândárkar is *False Analogy*.⁴⁵ He has given instances which need not be reproduced, and I have also mentioned some already and shall have occasion to deal with others later on. I need not therefore linger on this point here at all.

I may, however, add a few instances which illustrate the operation of this principle of False Analogy:—

- (1) ऊष्टु is an adjective derived from Skr. ऊष्णं, Ap. उष्मं. Now, this word is mistaken in some parts of Kāthiāvād as a past participle of some root, on the analogy of छाष्टु, वाष्टु, &c. which they have as past participial forms of √छाष्ट्, √वाष्ट्, instead of छाष्टु, वाष्टु, recognised as such forms in pure Gujjarātī. They have thus created the root, ऊष्, and have ऊष्मं, ऊष्ते &c., as if it was a true verb. This mistake is further promoted by the idea of an activity viz. that of standing, which underlies the adjective. Here there is a double basis for false analogy (1) form of the word, and (2) the sense.
- (2) जोइये छिये—is a peculiar expression meaning—'(it) is wanted,' as in ग्हारे कागळ जोइये छिये, "I want (some) paper"—literally "paper is wanted by me". Now, the form छिये (first person plural present tense of the verb in छे) is here converted from छे (3rd person singular, present tense) to छिये on account of the similar formation in जोइये, which is from √जो (= to see), and is crystallized into a kind of adverb or adjective (or a

45. His Wilson Philological Lectures, P. 12.

defective verb as when we say *मदरे चार रुपिया जोखे*); the idea of "wanting" is connected with that of "looking for a thing." We look for the thing which we want. The principle of analogy is further developed in the case of *जोखे*, and the forms *जोखि* (future tense, "shall be wanted") and *जोखु* (present participle) are created as if *जोख* itself were a root.

[The impulse of false analogy is noticeable in the efforts of children in their progress of acquisition of language. English children saying "I looks" on the analogy of "he looks" are an instance in point. This method of following analogous forms is typified in the well known joke against *Neposyllus* defying rules of grammar in saying *अस्मादूनां नैयादिदूनामर्थरि तात्पर्यं न तु मन्दरि*—and justifying their incorrect forms by saying *यथा इत्यादूनां तथा अस्मादूनां नैयादिदूनाम् । यथा मातरि पितरि तथा अर्थरि मन्दरि ॥*—This is of course the height of absurdity, but it furnishes an indication.

A very curious instance of false analogy, however, was seen actually in the case of a child saying *हूँ संतारि गयो* correctly when he hid himself behind an umbrella, but, on coming out of his hiding shelter, innocently saying *हूँ संतारिणी आयो*, the evident analogy being some such thing as "*हूँ मुन्तारिणी आयो*," thus regarding *संतारि* as something like a noun, the child's perception of its verbal significance being not yet developed.]

Opposed to the principle of analogy is that of distinction. A desire to steer clear of analogy in grammatical
III Distinction. or basal formations leads one to adopt most queer formations. Take the instance of the first personal plural form of verbs in the present tense *हमे करिये* (रिये). This *करिये* is really evolved out of *क्रिये* (Skr.), *करिमाह*, *करियाह* (Pr. & Apabhramsa), the passive impersonal (भवि) form in the 3rd person singular. I find support in this derivation in Dr. Tenzatori's researches and the reason he assigns for this vagary of language (a reason which I did not light upon) points to the principle of distinction. It is this: the real 1st person plural, present tense form is *करहु* (Apabhramsa), *करु* (O. W. Raj.), which is

not distinguishable from the 2nd person plural, कर (O W R.), in Guj करे To distinguish the two forms, to save them from the danger of analogy or identity we have करिये in the 1st person plural (See Dr Tessitori's Notes on the grammar of O W R., *Rajasthān*, § 137) It will be observed that underlying this vagary there is a certain principle governing the selection of another form The change of sense involved in the change of the verbal mood is guided by a mental process which may be termed *psychological refraction* करिये is being done (by us)', gets a sort of a twist in the mind and turns into 'we do,' just as a stick half immersed in water gets refracted and diverges at the point of contact with the surface of water into a different angle instead of going on in a straight line

The mental steps are these ईह्य पमं त्रियते—अहं कम्म करिये This is passive Then G हाव काम करिये this is something like imperative (करिये=should be done) Cf H आप बैठिये=you should sit, please sit Then comes the real twist—आपणे—हमे—करिये=we do (करिये छिये with the छे as a termination to make up the present indicative mood) This principle of distinction operates widely in the formation of Gujarati language, and instances could be multiplied but I content myself with this single instance

Connected with these last two principles is that of *Simplification* The tendency of the human mind is to get rid of complexity and introduce simplicity by doing away with variety of forms and unifying them as much as possible According to Vararuchi (*Prakṛta Pralāpa Pariccheda* XII, *Sūtra* 19) in *Sauraseni* अम् becomes अच्छ् and so we have the forms अच्छामि अच्छसि, but his next *Sūtra* (XII-20) specially makes an exception in the case of the 3rd person singular (present tense) and so we have अत्ति, and not अच्छ् for अस्ति Now our Gujarati छ् (3rd person singular present tense) has behind it the earlier forms छ्, अछ् It is therefore but reasonable to see in this a resort to simplicity whereby at a certain stage in the evolution of the *Prakṛta* after Vararuchi's period the uneven state of things created by the exceptional form अत्ति disappeared and uniformity

and simplicity were secured by bringing the 3rd personal singular form too under the common rule, and thus अत्य came into vogue.

[Dr. H. Mutschmann, in an article on Philology in Jack's Self Educator, says — "The general tendency towards uniformity and the desire to simplify speech is chiefly responsible for analogical changes."

Here is shown the connection between *Simplification* and *Analogy*. The former impels people to search for analogy and secure its results. Simplification and uniformity need not have been mentioned separately; the one involves the other.]

Economy of Effort is another motive force governing phonetic changes. This principle underlies some of the causes mentioned just above. Dr. Bhindikar has thoughtfully pointed out the

working of this principle in the special peculiarities of Pali whereby the ष and श्रि of Sanskrit were turned into short ष and श्रि, and dissimilar consonants forming conjuncts were assimilated. He has further shown the real cause of this by advancing the theory that the speakers of Pali were originally an alien race, who, energetic and strong as their vocal organs were, were never the less unable to combine energy of utterance with two successive movements of the vocal organs. [This explains why even now some Bengalis turn श्रि into श, ष्य into ष, व्य into व (व्य) and so on, even when pronouncing Sanskrit texts **]

Dr. Bhândîrkar also attributes the short ए and ओ as also the change of dentals to cerebrals to the fact that these sounds (short ए and ओ and cerebrals) must have existed in the original language of the speakers of Pâli and they could not shake them off entirely and these thus affected their pronunciation of Sanskrit words. He further shows that these two peculiarities, the short ए and ओ and the cerebral sounds,⁴⁷ belong to the Dravidian languages also, and it is possible that the original Pâli speakers belonged to the same race as the Dravidians of Southern India.⁴⁸

Finally, I would draw your attention to the potent principle which regulates the preservation of syllabic quantity during the process of phonetic mutation in our vernaculars. If, for instance, you look at the *utsarga* which notes the simplification of conjuncts and

47. Mr. Beames has an original, but not quite convincing, theory about the history and evolution of the dentals. (See his Vol. I, pp. 231-235). He suggests that the intermediate cerebrals were the only sounds of the two (cerebrals and dentals) which the Âryans possessed before and probably for some centuries after they came into India, for he says, these Âryans, like the Teutons, had the nervous vigour which enabled them to employ their organs of speech firmly and crisply; that in those days they knew no distinction between ऋ and ॠ, ॡ and ॢ; that later on conjuncts of these sounds with ॠ (which is higher cerebral) gave rise to a separate creation of the higher cerebrals and the dentals, and that eventually the dentals were evolved out of the cerebrals through this process. This is his theory in rivalry with the theory of Dravidian contact and importation of non-Âryan words as the source of cerebral sounds,—without at the same time absolutely denying the possibility of the contact and non-Âryan importation theories containing a certain amount of truth. The outstanding cause of this result, according to him, was the softening effect of the warm climate of India. We may only ask—how is it that with the same warm climate we can still pronounce and retain the cerebrals—intermediate as well as higher? And why did the Dravidians retain the sounds in spite of the climate?

48. Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 46-48.

Mr. Beames also sees in the short ए the evidence of foreign influence (See his Vol. I, pp. 140-141).

simultaneous lengthening of the preceding vowel, you will see this principle of balance of quantity at work; thus, वमं (Skr.), वम्म (Pr.), becomes वाम (G.), and here the loss of quantity in the first syllable due to the change of म् to म् is made up by lengthening the अ of व into आ. Similarly, when a strong *anusvara* of Sanskrit is weakened in Gujarati the contingent vowel is lengthened and thus the *mītrā*-value is preserved; thus:—ययकं (Skr.), ययत्तं (Apabhr.), याँक (G.); ययकः (Skr.), ययत्त (Apabhr.), याँको (G.). So again, when a strong ण shifts its place, the same process of balancing occurs; thus:—एणकं (Skr.), एणत्तं (Ap.), नणत्तं,—नणत्तं, and to preserve the *mītrā*-value, नणत्तं (G.). To take one more case, when a final एण्यम् is reduced to one vowel by the second member of the युम् being dropped, the first member is lengthened and the balance of quantity secured; thus:—मौलिकं (Skr.), मौलिभं (Pr.), मौलित (Ap.), मौली (G.); लोहितं (Skr.), लोहित (Ap.), लोही (G.).

It will be observed that nature plays a greater part than art in the operation of all these principles. In fact art has no part in the process. In *Phonetic Decay and Economy of Effort*, natural aptitude and constitution are undoubtedly the generating causes. In the case of *Analogy, Distinction, "Simplification and Balance of Quantity"* the governing cause must be sought, not in a pre-meditated intention or desire to secure the results through those processes. If you examine the psychology of these processes, you will realize that the mental activity involved therein is synthetic not analytic; spontaneous, not deliberate. More than that, the synthesis is unconscious, and not even syllogistic. It is a sort of intuitive synthesis. When, for instance, the people changed वम्म to वाम, they did not say unto themselves:—"Come, let us simplify the conjunct", and then getting वय, again they did not say:—"Let us balance the quantity, and so make वाम." The same remark applies to the other principles, *Distinction, Analogy, Economy of Effort*. In short, you will remember that just as the *संज्ञा* of

language, viz grammar, is analytical and its ઉચ્ચ, language a synthetic evolution, even so the phonetic processes are spontaneous workings out of the synthetic thinking part of માન, and it is examined analytically only by the science of philology.

After these introductory general remarks, I shall now enter upon a detailed examination of the special phonetic principles which govern the word formations in Gujarātī in the course of the passage of the words from Sanskrit through the Prākṛits or occasionally direct from Sanskrit, into Gujarātī. I shall at the start pass in review the efforts made by scholars in the past in this direction, scholars whose work as pioneers in this cause cannot be too highly estimated, then I shall give a description of the general nature of the phonetic changes to be discussed by me, and finally I shall take up the specific principles themselves for consideration.

Two names rise prominently as pioneers in the field of Gujarātī philology the late Śāstri Vrajabal Kālidāsa and the late Mr Navalarām. The former wrote his "Gujarātī Bīśāhī Itihāsa" (A history of the Gujarātī language) in A. D. 1866 and his *Utsarga mālī* (A string of rules of phonetics) in A. D. 1870. The latter scholar wrote his *Vyutpatti Pāṭī* in A. D. 1887. No doubt these works were wanting in scientific precision and had their defects inseparable from such works undertaken in the dawn of philological research in Gujarātī and these defects have been incidentally pointed out by me in the course of these lectures so far and I may have occasion in the subsequent portions to do so again. Still we have to remember the times during which these two scholars had to work almost unaided. Vrajabal belonged to the Śāstri class and this class as a rule neglected and even despised the Prākṛits. He was perhaps the sole exception. He had not the benefit of the light of Western scholarship and of its methods of inquiry, although at the same time, he had an advantage over

Nayalārām, while treating of the अवा-तर उत्सर्ग, though in a rather crude form, ignored the intermediate Prākṛits and dealt with Gujarātī words as if they had come direct from Sanskrit.⁶²

“आ निबन्धना समञ्ज उत्सर्गं प्राकृत भाषानां व्याकरण उपरधी रच्याछे, ते गूर्जर भाषामां सर्वत्र प्रवर्तं धत्ता नथी पण ए उत्सर्ग भाषा जाणनारने अवश्य जाणवा योग्य छे, माटे अमे आ निबन्धनां लख्याछे.”

Then, the only अवा-तर उत्सर्ग he gives are (P. 114-115 of the उत्सर्ग-मात्रा) —(1) change of प to ख, (2) change of स to च, (3) change of व to व (which is incorrect so far as initial व is concerned), (4) change of ट to ठ, and (5) change of ल to ल.

But, most important of all, while in A. D. 1866 in his गुजराती भाषानो इतिहास Vrajālī Śāstri incidentally mentions (at P. 30 and also at P. 77) the अवा-तर उत्सर्ग which notes the dropping of one of the doubled consonants and the lengthening of the preceding vowel (सर्प—सर्पो—साप), in 1870 A. D. in his उत्सर्ग-मात्रा he assigns to this उत्सर्ग a subordinate place under the Prākṛit उत्सर्ग given as No. 11.

Again (P. 10) when under उत्सर्ग 19 he gives an incidental note that the first इ in a Sanskrit word is changed to अ by villagers, and gives विचार—वचार as an instance, he is not reminded even by this of the wide spread उत्सर्ग whereby in विट Gujarātī a non final इ is changed to अ, as in तल, चण्ड, etc. Finally, when in his उत्सर्ग 173 (P. 104) he tries to include in the general rule स्वराणां स्वराः प्रायोऽप्यभेदे even cases like लशुन—लसन, दुर—छरो, तिल—तल which really fall under a distinct principle, viz. the change of non ultimate इ—उ to अ, a principle which began its work to a limited extent even from the time of the Prākṛits, Vrajālī Śāstri cannot plead for the arrangement the merits of brevity and scientific generalization, but, on the contrary, the arrangement presents a clumsy jumble of incongruous rules.

52 One or two instances must be given in this case also. The व्युत्पाद-पाठ gives as the first उत्सर्ग the rule about the dropping of one member of a conjunct and the lengthening of the preceding vowel. This is all right. But in giving the instances, सर्प, सप्त, कर्म etc. are shown as having at once become साप, सात, काम etc. as if they never passed through the Prākṛit stage, सर्प, सप्त, कर्म etc. This is incorrect history of the evolution of the words.

Similarly उत्सर्ग 2 deals with the lengthening of the preceding vowel when a nasal is weakened, e. g. दल—दाल, रक—राल; etc. This fails to provide for Prākṛit cases, e. g. वक—वक—वकु (Gujarātī) and the like.

Since the death of these two scholars no systematic attempts have been made to present the philology of Gujarātī in the shape of any published works. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Philological Lectures no doubt deal with Gujarātī phonology and grammar, but Gujarātī comes in there for a partial share in a general treatment of all vernaculars and hence the work, full of erudition and thoughtful treatment as it is, has to be excluded from the above list on that ground and also on the ground that it is not a pioneer's work but that of an accomplished master who had at his command unprecedented learning and a wide field of survey. I shall make as much use of his learned lectures as possible, and while recognizing the independent and able support I receive from his Lectures in many respects, I may have occasion to mark where, on a few points, I have to differ from him respectfully.

Again ડાસર્ગ 3 deals with the change of the Sanskrit masculine ending ં into Gujarātī ં, here too the *Apulkranti* stage ં (through the Sanskrit 0 termination) is passed over. Similar is the treatment in ડાસર્ગ 4, of the change of ં to ં.

In ડાસર્ગ 12 ં is given as one of the changes of ં, the instances given being ં—ં, ં—ં, ં—ં, ં—ં. Now, this is incorrect: the change is short ં, and the final lengthening is due, in the case of ં and ં, to સંધોગતોષ of ં and the weakening of the nasal in ં in Prakrit, and in the case of ં and ં to the intermediate Prakrit form ં and ં, when, during the further progress towards Gujarātī, the final vowel falls and leaves the ં long by way of compensation.

There are several other flaws uncorrected with the ignoring of the intermediate Prakrits and I therefore have them unnoted here.

[Dr. Teesitori's learned researches into Gujarāṭī language, as published in his "Notes" reprinted from the Indian Antiquary, stand apart as a very recent contribution, and it is on that ground only that I leave the eminent scholar's work apart; though I may occasionally refer to it in my Lectures.]

I must not omit the spade-work done by the late Kavi Narmadāsankar in the investigation of Gujarāṭī language. His works on this subject that I have come across are:—

- (1) *Narmā-Vyākaraṇa*, Part I and II, (published in A.D. 1865 and 1866 respectively).
- (2) *Narmā-Kośa*, published in A.D. 1873;—the two pre-latory articles.
- (3) An article on Old Gujarāṭī, *Jāni Gujarāṭī Dhāshā*, written in V.S. 1938 (=1882 A.D.) published in the Diwāḷī number of the "Gujarāṭī" in A.D. 1917.

and

- (4) An unpublished, incomplete, translation of Vararuchi's *Prākṛita-Prakāśa*; which does not profess to be anything beyond a mere verbal translation.

(Of these Nos. 1, 3 and 4 were made available to me by the kind courtesy of Mr. Naṭavarīlāl Ichchhārdām Desāī B. A., and Mr. Ambālāl B. Jāni B.A., both of the Gujarāṭī Press.)

All these works possess the merits as well as the limitations and faults of a pioneer's work. I need not go into detail into them. I may have to refer to these later on, if occasion arises. This much, however, may be noted here:—Kavi Narmadāsankar indulged in some vagaries, such as writing ં (a phonetically absurd symbol for the aspirated vowel, which can only be symbolized by ૃ) and the like; however as soon as he discovered, or was perhaps shown, the absurdity of it, he corrected the error by substituting the symbol, ં̣ (the vowel with a discritical dot below it); he further continued the system for the sake of mere consistency, by giving up even ૃ, ૄ, &c. for ં, ં̣, &c.

[I need not dwell on stray and spasmodic efforts like *Apabhraṃśa-śabda-prakāśa* compiled and published in A. D. 1880 by Prabhākara Rāmachandra Paodit of the Vernacular College of Science, Baroda, an etymological vocabulary of Gujarātī words on the model of a similar vocabulary of Marāṭhī words published by him two years earlier. While recognizing the praiseworthy attempt made in this compilation at laying down some *utārgas* to mark the phonetic changes of words from Sanskrit to Gujarātī I cannot help noting its crudity, and the unscientific method of derivation in the vocabulary marked by fanciful and unfounded source-words like मयन for मीन (war), पद as the source-word of मीद (salt), and the like.]

The scheme which I propose to adopt is necessarily different

The scheme adopted in these Lectures from that of the two processes named above. I shall take into my periwiew the intermediate Prakṛits and deal with the changes during the post *Apabhraṃśa* period. I shall also classify

The nature of the phonetic changes to be discussed and group the principles on a plan specially suited for the purpose of these Lectures. But before doing so I indicate now the general nature of the phonetic changes to be discussed below. These changes then, are of two kinds

(I) Fixed or crystallized changes,

(II) Intermediate or *in process* changes i. e. those of a transitional nature

As regards (I) instances will always be found in written works of older centuries and also in books of the present day as well as in the language actually spoken at present. As regards

A Classification of these changes (II) instances of such changes may not necessarily be found in written books. These changes will fall under two heads—

(a) Those that may have existed in spoken language at some period or other but were not captured in written books

- (b) Those that may have been captured in written books, but the works may not be available or widely known to us as yet.
- (c) Those that are merely transitional as indicating a possible phonetic condition through which the words must have passed, but were never in vogue in spoken language, much less captured in writing.

A few instances will explain this classification.

(I) A great majority of the उल्लेख will fall under this head; e. g.

- (1) संयोगलोप पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व, — रुमं — रुमम् (used in Prākṛit) — रुम
current in spoken and written Gujarātī for a number of years.

- (2) स changed to श when in contact with ई or यः—

| Sanskrit | Prākṛit | Gujarātī |
|----------|---------|------------|
| शृगाळः | सियाळो | शियाळ etc. |

Here all the Gujarātī words arrived at finally are in a final crystallized state.

- (II) (a) अयुना (Sanskrit)—अयुणा (Prākṛit)—then the ह is thrown back—so हयुणा, Gujarātī हरणां or हमणां.

The intermediate हयुणा is such that it possibly may have existed at some stage of the language, but we have no means of ascertaining from any written books.

| (b) Sanskrit | Prākṛit | Gujarātī |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| बुद्ध्वा | बुद्ध्वा | कण्वा |
| जरडः | जरदो—गरदो | परदो (पयदो) |

Here the first word is likely to have existed in books even, but the works are not available; while the second word is captured in a book not yet widely known; for I find it in a poem entitled माधवानन्दोपकप्रबन्ध written in V. S. 1584 by a Kāyastha poet, named Gaṇapati, (copied in V. S. 1632).⁵³

(c) The most typical instance under this class would be the अयन्तवर्तमान about the change of य to य where before reaching the crystallized form अयन्तु in Gujarati the Sanskrit word अभिनय passes through the form अदिनय,—a form not to be found in one at any known time as even possibly spoken.⁵⁴

Now I shall treat the specific वर्तमान in detail in my next Lecture.

NOTE A.

Extracts from Dr. Bhinikar's Paper on the Critical, Comparative and Historical Method of Inquiry. (A. D. 1898.)

(1)

A critical inquirer is one who does not accept an account of an occurrence just as it is presented to him whether orally or in writing. He subjects it to certain tests calculated to prove its truth or otherwise. He takes care for instance to ascertain whether the person giving the account was an eye-witness to the occurrence, and if so whether he was an unprejudiced and at the same time an intelligent observer. If his information is based on other sources, the critic endeavours to ascertain the credibility or otherwise of those sources. When it is a thing or a verified occurrence that he has to deal with, he does not satisfy himself with that view of its nature and relations that appears plausible at first sight. He seeks for extraneous assistance to enable himself to arrive at a correct view. One of the most efficacious means employed by him is comparison of like things or occurrences. This comparison

54 In the Prākṛit stages even, such transitional changes, reflected in actual speech, can be discovered—for instance, the word भगिनी (Sanskrit) becomes भगिनी in Prākṛit, and Hemachandra gives the word bodily as an *śloka* of भगिनी (S. II. VIII a 126). But the phonetic process underlying the change must doubtless have been भगिनी—भगिनी—भगिनी.

Similarly भृगु passed through the following stages (in theoretical phonetics of course)—भृगु—भृगु,—before it reached the final form भृगु which Hemachandra gives as a ready-made *śloka* of भृगु (S. II. VIII b 146)

enables him to separate the accidents of the thing or occurrence from its essential nature, and some times to arrive at a law which includes the thing or occurrence as a particular case and explains it. Though comparison may thus be considered one of the means of a critical examination, still its own proper results are so important that it deserves to be considered an independent method of inquiry. The history of a thing is a comparison of the various forms it presents at different well ascertained periods is also of the greatest use for the determination of its real nature. Often when no written history is available the inquirer determines the historical or chronological relation between the several forms of a thing by referring them to an obvious standard and arrives at some important conclusions based on such relations. Thus for instance, the Greek *e'smas* 'we are' is more ancient than the Sanskrit *amas* for it retains the original *a* of the root *as* in the form of *e* which Sanskrit has lost, and the Sanskrit *santa* 'they are,' more ancient than the Greek *'enta* which has lost the whole root *as*. From an observation of many such forms the conclusion to be drawn is that Greek is not derived from Sanskrit nor Sanskrit from Greek, but both from an older form of speech. The comparative and historical methods correspond to the inductive method used in the physical and experimental sciences. In those branches of knowledge in which you cannot from the nature of the case make experiments, you have recourse to comparison and historical observation. The inductive method began to be used in Europe about the end of the sixteenth century and since that time very great progress has been made in the discovery of the laws of the physical world. The critical, comparative, and historical methods began to be well understood and employed about the end of the eighteenth century, and within a hundred years since that time an equally amazing progress has been made in other departments of knowledge and geology, paleontology, comparative philology or the science of language, comparative mythology, evolution and the origin of species, scientific history, comparative jurisprudence, archaeology sound scholarship, and even comparative religion are the grand results. (Pp 1-22)

(II)

Having disposed of books and other written documents, I will now endeavour to estimate the value of traditions. If we accept traditions as we find them we shall often be deceived. There is a tradition among us for instance that Bhavabhūti and Kālidāsa were contemporaries but we have now found that Bhavabhūti lived in the first quarter of the eighth century of the Christian Era and Kālidāsa long before 634

A. C., since he is mentioned as a famous poet in an inscription bearing that date and also by Bīna who lived in the middle of the seventh century. Bhavabhūti, it has recently been discovered, was a pupil of Kumāralabhaṭṭa, and Kumāralabhaṭṭa quotes from Kālidāsa a Śikuntala.

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• • • •

Tradition makes Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana and represents him as having been a blockhead who by austerities pleased Śiva and obtained a new grammar from him. Kātyāyana held a disputation with him for eight days and though Pāṇini proved a powerful antagonist he was ultimately vanquished. The fact, however, as we know it, is that Kātyāyana is the writer of *Vārtikas* or comments on Pāṇini's grammar in which he explains, rectifies, and supplements Pāṇini's rules. It was in consequence of his having thus rectified and supplemented Pāṇini that the story of his having vanquished him must have arisen,—and traditions often have a bias of this nature and no better—but it is impossible that he should have written those comments a good many of which are explanatory in the work of a contemporary. (Pp. 10-11)

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• • • •

(III)

Thus, then, the great lesson we have to learn is that if we wish to know and understand the truth about a point whether in science or practical life, we should seek analogies first out if we can the history, and criticize, not foolishly and ignorantly as we often do, but according to well defined and rational principles. (P. 22)



NOTE B.

The following extract from Mr. Beames' *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. I, P. 291, will be useful in comprehending the terms, 'dixes,' 'mixed dixes,' &c., used in this and other Lectures:—

§ 73 For the purpose of expressing the combination of two consonants without the intervention of a vowel, as in *kt*, *pl*, *sc*, the term

"nexus" is employed. Three kinds of nexus may conveniently be distinguished —

(1) The strong nexus composed of strong letters only, as क, स, ज, द, त, य.

(2) The mixed nexus, composed of a strong and a weak letter, as न, न्द, ध्य, म.

(3) The weak nexus, composed of weak letters only, as ह्य, भ, ङ, म, ण, व.

By strong letters are meant the first four letters of the five vargas

क, ख, ग, घ.

च, छ, ज, झ.

ट, ठ, ड, ढ.

त, थ, द, ध.

प, फ, ब, भ.

By weak letters are meant the nasals ङ, झ, ण, न, म, sibilants श, स, ष, semi vowels य, र, ल, व, and ह. The combinations झ and ष are often treated as single letters, I include under the mixed nexus.

LECTURE IV

(SECTION I)

The History of the Gujarātī Language—Its Evolution.

In tracing the evolution of the Gujarātī language, the first step in our investigation will be to examine the specific principles governing the evolution of Gujarātī. and thus I take up this question as proposed in the conclusion of my last lecture. It will be convenient at the outset to state a few defining terms, શબ્દો, which I shall use for the sake of brevity.

(1) યજ્ઞપ્રતિ or more briefly પ્રતિ means a single vowel sound with the consonants (if any) dependent on it; a syllable; e. g. the word અનુષ્ઠાન has the four પ્રતિs, અ, ય+અ (= યુ), ષ+અ+અ (= શા) and ણ+અ (= ર)

In short પ્રતિ is the minimum sound group possible to be heard.¹

[The word અક્ષર is used to signify a syllable in Sanskrit. It is defined in the *Pratishākhya* thus:—સપ્ત્યંજનઃ સપ્તઅક્ષરઃ કુદોપાદિ શ્વરોઽક્ષરઃ। (*Pratishākhya*, 1933 in Max Müller's Edition).

I have preferred to adhere to પ્રતિ to avoid confusion]

(2) શ્વરિત-અશ્વરિત-(or પ્રધાન-ગોણ)

શ્વરિત² or પ્રધાન is a પ્રતિ which is uttered with greater emphasis

than other श्रुतिs in the same word; an accented syllable. अस्वरित or गौण is a श्रुति not so emphasized; an unaccented syllable. e. g. चौपट्टी-चौपट्टियो, वळवुं-वळावुं; etc.

(3) द्रुत-मध्य-विलम्बित-द्रुततर-विलम्बिततर. These terms are used to measure the length of the utterance of vowels; vocal time-measure.

A द्रुत utterance has $\frac{1}{2}$ मात्रा or time-measure.

A मध्य do. do. 1 मात्रा or time-measure.

A विलम्बित do. do. 2 मात्राs or time-measures.

A द्रुततर utterance has a मात्रा somewhere between zero and $\frac{1}{2}$.

A विलम्बिततर utterance has 3 मात्राs or time-measures.

(More than three मात्राs will give विलम्बिततम utterances of varying lengths. द्रुततम is not a possible utterance in phonetics).

[The मात्रा of Indian prosody corresponds very nearly to the mora of ancient prosody in Europe.]

(Note.—(In Gujarātī) अस्वरित अकार has a द्रुत or occasionally a द्रुततर utterance.)

A ह्रस्व स्वर i. e. a short vowel (other than अ) has a मध्य utterance.

A दीर्घ स्वर i. e. a long vowel, has a विलम्बित utterance.

A ऋत स्वर i. e. an extra long vowel has a विलम्बिततर utterance.

E. G.—वेसतुं—here वे is विलम्बित, स is द्रुत;

सवाल—here स is मध्य, वा is विलम्बित and ल is द्रुत.

(In this word ल is अस्वरित, वा is fully स्वरित and स though अस्वरित is comparatively more स्वरित than ल).

(4) लघुप्रयत्न or लघूच्चारण यकार is the weak य which is pronounced with a feeble effort of all parts of the tongue.³

or a pitch accent—a point into which we need not enter here,—compels me to adhere to the nomenclature adopted by me above. Besides, स्वर is used generally for accent, Siddhānta-kaumudī calls the chapter on accent स्वरप्रक्रिया.

3 In connection with लघुप्रयत्नतर य and वे a लघूच्चारण is described in the Siddhānta Kaumudī as under —

यस्योच्चारणे जिह्वाग्रोपाग्रमभ्यमूलानां हेतुत्वं भावते, स लघूच्चारणः । (See वृत्ति on VIII-iii-18 of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*)

e. g. आग्नेः, गग्नेः, वायवीः, दीपदं, आग्नेयः, गोमयः, आप्यः, दान्य, etc. (In व्यापार, दान्य, सान्य, यजमान, योग etc. the य is full and strong; it is गुरुप्रयत्न or अतिथिः).

Similarly there is a लघुप्रयत्न वार due to a weak (मिथि) effort of the tongue and lips;

E. g. नाग्यो, पादुहं, साय (for साभो), जाय (for जाभो) etc. (आग्नेः, विचार, वसुहं etc. have a stroog and full—गुरुप्रयत्न—य).

(3) लघुप्रयत्न or लघुवारण द्वार—is a sound not so named anywhere, but it is largely noticeable in our vernaculars and perhaps existed in Sanskrit; as noticed before, the और्ध्व and कण्ठ द्वार of the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā may perhaps correspond to these two modern द्वार, लघुप्रयत्न and गुरुप्रयत्न. i. e. the weak ह the aspiration whereof is diffuse, and the stroog ह the aspiration whereof is concentrated.

E. g. लघुप्रयत्न द्वार—हमे, हमारं, हुं, हेय, हमणो, हनी, होहं, होहं; ह्यं, ह्यं, ह्यं, ह्यं, ह्यं, ह्यं, ह्यं, ह्यं, ह्यं, ह्यं, etc.

गुरुप्रयत्न द्वार—हदन, हदन, ह्यं, etc.

(4) यधुति अवार—is the weak य sound which the अ attains when certain consonants are dropped and leave this अ, and when it is preceded by अ or आ, e. g. यधनं Pr. यधनं; नभनं etc.

This यधुति अवार is mentioned in⁴ Sr. Hr. VIII-1-180, and originated there, though of course it is the same as the old लघुवारण द्वार of Pāṇini's times. Hīmachandra relaxes the condition about अयोग्यत and cites विभ्र (Skr. विभ्रि) as an instance. In fact an अ after ह is bound to sound as य. Hīmachandra includes आ in this description, e. g. पापारं (8). पापारं (Pr.); and therefore uses the term यधनं. But for the purpose of Gujarati phonology अ is all that is required to be considered.

4 Dr. Hornl (Introduction to Chandra's Prakṛa Lakṣaṇa, p. xxvii) thinks यधुति is a specific name coined by Hīmachandra. But a closer study of the old and the new authorities shows that it is not so.

The real meaning is that the अ left after the ह of पापारं is converted into य; and nothing like a special condition is intended.

(7) मूर्धन्यतर ङ and ढ—are the ङ and ढ which are sounded with a deeper and fuller cerebral effort of the tongue.

e. g. कङ्कु, पाङो, गाङी, लङे, पङे, कङी; etc.

(Whereas इगळं, हाळी, दोसो, हंग, दगळो, दाळ, &c. are simply मूर्धन्य). (Sanskrit also appears to possess this मूर्धन्यतर sound, though not so named; hence it is that ईङे is इङे and गूढं is गूळं in Vedic Sanskrit).

(8) उपतालव्य, अर्धतालव्य or प्राकृत उच्चार of च, छ, ज, झ.

This is a sound foreign to Sanskrit and began in the Prākṛits, and hence I call it प्राकृत उच्चार.

It is produced by touching with the tongue the portion of the palate just where it borders on the teeth, whereas the Sanskrit तालव्य (i. o. what I may call शुद्ध तालव्य) sound is produced by a touch of the tongue higher up in the palate;

o. g. चांचुं, पूळुं, तजुं; वींझुं.

(9) विवृत and अविवृत and अर्धविवृत (sounds of ए and ओ).
विवृत ए-ओ—are the ए and ओ which are sounded wide, i. e. with an expanding of the glottis, so that the sound is something like that in *bat* and *plot*.

अविवृत (ए-ओ)—are the opposite sounds where the glottis is not expanded so much; like the sound in *bale* and *boat*.

अर्धविवृत (ए-ओ) are the sounds which stand midway between विवृत and अविवृत.

Examples:—विवृत—वर्ण, वर्ण, वर, कर्ड, मरि; etc.

अविवृत—वेळ, केळ, कोडी, मोर, etc.

अर्धविवृत—उसेळे, उखोजे, थोडे (the ओ in टो); etc.

(Note:—the term विवृत belongs to the old nomenclature in Sanskrit about the प्रयत्न of letters, but it does not cover this peculiar sound in Gujarātī; the name is adopted by me only on the basis of analogy and a free interpretation of the term. The term अर्धविवृत is entirely newly coined).

(10) **જોમટ** and **તીંત્ર અનુસ્વાર**.—જોમટ અનુસ્વાર is the weak nasal sound produced by a relaxed nasal tension.

તીંત્ર અનુસ્વાર is the opposite of it, the strong nasal sound, produced by a powerful nasal tension.

Examples.—

જોમટ—વાંછડું, જાંતડું, ઘીંટડું, ડંટડું etc.

તીંત્ર—તંજામ, તિંદા, ટુંડ, ટુંડલ etc.

જોમટ અનુસ્વાર is further divisible into three subdivisions:—(a) જોમટ, (b) જોમટતર, (c) જોમટતમ. e. g.

જોમટ—આંત, ઘીંટડું, ડંટડું etc.

જોમટતર—દહિં, અદિં, મદિં, પડં, ફૂંપડ, ફૂંપારો, પૈંપાહું; etc.

જોમટતમ—હું, તારું, કાહું, પાહું, આપું, ટપું; etc.

(Note:—પાહું, માહું, &c. end in a જોમટતમ *anusvara*, but their plurals—પારાં, મારાં &c.—end in a જોમટ one.)

(11) **સંયોગ** a combination of two or more consonants without any vowel to link them together.

(12) **સંયોગહોર**—is the elision of one member out of a સંયોગ.

(No. 11 is an old સંજ્ઞા, No. 12 is coined by me).

(13) **વિષ્લેષ** is the dissolution of the members of a conjunct, accompanied by the interpolation of an અ between them.

Examples.—

| Sanskrit | Gujarati |
|-----------|----------|
| S. ધર્મ: | ધર્મ |
| S. આખ્ય: | આખરો |
| S. શેષ્ઠા | શેષ્ઠમ |

(Note—Vararuchi (III-29) calls this by the name **વિયજનં**. I have adopted **વિષ્લેષ** in preference, as having a clearer meaning. Hemachandra does not give any specific term for this in any special *śloka* but incidentally uses the term **વિયજનં** in his *gloss* on

his *sūtra* VIII-ii-75:—विप्रकर्षे तु कृष्णकृत्स्नशब्दयोः कसणो कसिणो. It is also known in the *Prātisākhya* as स्वरभक्ति.⁵)

(14) सवल संयोग-निर्वल संयोग.

The former is a conjunct wherein both (or all) the members are fully i. e. strongly uttered.

[As a result of it the preceding short vowel will carry two मात्राs as a *guru* (heavy) vowel (as per Pāṇini's rule संयोगे गुरु, I-iv-11].

The latter is a conjunct one or more members whereof are imperfectly i. e. weakly uttered. (In consequence of this the preceding short vowel will remain लघु i. e. carry one मात्रा only:—Pāṇini, I-iv-10 ह्रस्वं लघु]

Examples:—

| | S. | Pr. |
|------------|-----------|-------|
| सवल संयोग— | कृष्णः | कण्हो |
| | श्लक्ष्णं | लण्हं |
| | कर्म | कम्म |

(Gujarātī Tatsamas), सख्य, सत्य, etc.

5. स्वरभक्ति is strictly confined to conjuncts of which either र् or ऌ is the first member. In Gujarātī the process of dissolution extends to other conjuncts even, e. g. रत्न (Skr.), रतन (G.), यत्न (Skr.), जतन (G.); जन्म (Skr.), जनम (G.), &c.

The term स्वरभक्ति indicates the process of separation (भक्ति) of the consonants and also the means which causes the separation, viz स्वर; whereas विप्रकर्ष and विरेष indicate simply the process of separation स्वरभक्ति may therefore claim superiority over the names विप्रकर्ष or विरेष. But, on the other hand, it may be claimed for the two latter names that स्वर is a superfluous part in as much as the भक्ति, separation, of two consonants necessarily implies the wedging in of a vowel, for without it there would be no splitting apart of the conjunct, the separated consonants would (without the vowel coming in) re-unite into a conjunct, like the divided halves of the body of Jarāsandha, which, as the Puranic myth tells us, get joined together each time they were cut asunder, until a Śira-linga was placed in between. The vowel does the work of Śira-linga in the case of विरेष.

For further remarks See Note A at the end of this Lecture.

निर्यन्त संयोग—(Pr.) अम्हे, अम्दारे, गुम्हे, गुम्दारे; etc.

(Guj.) च्छेन, च्छेहे, च्छेहिं, च्छानी, छप्पा, छह्यं,
अस्य, क्यदारे, ज्यदारे, र्यदारे; etc.

These are not the same as the strong and weak nexuses treated of by Mr. Beames (Vol: I Pages 261 ff.) His mixed nexus or even weak nexus would give our संयन्त संयोग:—e. g. mixed nexus—वृहण, गुह्य, etc.; weak nexus—अरण्य छर्ण, सर्थ—etc. The principle in his classification is the phonetic possibilities of the letters; whereas my classification has for its principle the degree of effort put forth in the sounding of the letters.

It will be noticed that निर्यन्त संयोग is caused by one of the components being a व्युत्पत्य य or ह.

(15) व्युत्पत्य—means metathesis, interchango of letters, whether vowels or consonants, from one part of a word to another. e. g. S. विद्याः, Pr. विद्याधो, Guj. विद्याधो.

This term is used by Himschaodra in his *sūtra* VIII-11-210. Vararuchi calls it स्थितिविपर्ययः (iv-28)—rather a cumbersome word.

(16) संप्रसारण is a well known old term signifying the change of य, व, इ, ए to इ, उ, ऊ, ए. (इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् Panini 1-1-43).

We shall here in our inquiry have to deal with the संप्रसारण of य and व only.

(17) प्रतिमसंप्रसारण or पनीभाष is a name which I give to the process opposite to संप्रसारण, whereby the letters इ and उ (under certain circumstances) get thickened as it were into य and व; e. g.

| S. | Pr. | Guj. |
|----------|---------|--------|
| बोरिण्डा | बोरण्डा | बोयण्ड |
| मायकः | माहूयो | माययो |
| | माहयो | |
| देर | दर-यदरं | |
| देरहं | देरहं | देयहं |

Acc.

I use the term घनीभाव because, whereas in संप्रसारण the semi-vowels become as it were expanded and liquified into vowels, here in प्रतिसंप्रसारण, the vowels become as it were congealed and thickened into the semi-vowel state.

(18) प्रक्षेप or प्रक्षिप्त is the name given to any letter which gets added in a word, without any apparent cause; e. g.

इ कोटि (कोटी) करोड (ten millions)

ह { मंगलपुर मंगलवर मंगलदुर (Kāṇhaḥḍāḍe-prabandha) .
प्राप्तं पतं प्लोत्तं

य् वदनं वअणं वयण

व Gujar.-रीसायां रीसाव्यां (रसिक संगीते राधा)

प्रोतं प्रोयं परोव्यं etc.

(19) स्वरयुग्म means a vocalic group, i. e. juxtaposed vowels not combined into any change by means of sandhi. (This is peculiar to the Prākṛits). A स्वरयुग्म may be at the end of a word or be medial.

| | | | | |
|------------|----------|------|-----|--|
| Examples:— | घृतं | विभं | ... | } Here इअ अइ and अउ are स्वरयुग्मs. |
| | कृत्वा | करिअ | ... | |
| | वैरं | वइरं | .. | |
| | प्रविशति | पइसइ | ... | |
| | कः पुनः | कउण | ... | |
| | मुहुल | मउल | ... | |

(20) विच्छेद, अर्धविच्छेद, संकर and संसृष्टि.

(a) विच्छेद (or वर्णविच्छेद)—is the splitting up of the elementary sounds which have merged into the body of a complex sound; e. g.—(Skr.) भगिनी—(Pr.) वहिणी. Here the constituents of the complex sound भ् (aspirated व्), i. e. the व् and ह् which have combined to give the भ् sound, are split up entirely in the final stage वहिणी.

(b) अर्धविच्छेद is the incomplete splitting up of such elementary sounds, wherein the two components stand in the state of a conjunct; e. g. अभिनवं—अहिनवं (in a transitional stage)—(then अवनवं).

Here the **व** and **ह** constituting **व्ह** are split up, but do not separate and stay apart, but stop short at the stage of the conjunct **व्ह**.

(NOTE:—In the case of **विच्छेद** there is of course a preliminary stage of **अर्धविच्छेद**.—**भगिनी** passes through the midway stage of **व्हगिनी** and then comes the final stage **वदिनी**,⁷ while in the case of **अर्धविच्छेद** there is no further final separation, even though the phonal condition may exist only in a transitional form.

Thus the two, **विच्छेद** and **अर्धविच्छेद**, may often represent two stages, ultimate and penultimate.)

(c) **संवर** or **संयोजन** is the process whereby two sounds combine to fuse into a new complex sound; the complex sound so resulting is also called by this term. **संवर**. I. g. **गर्भारं** (Sk.), **गर्भारं** (Pr.) **पेठ** (Guj.)

(Strictly speaking when a consonant and a vowel come together in this way, as in **उत्पन्न-उद्-दृष्ट** (**हृ+उ**), the resultant state is always one of **संवर**, never **संयुक्ति**, the nature of a vowel (**उ**) being essentially incompatible with **संयुक्ति**).

(d) **संयुक्ति** or **योजन** is the process whereby two elementary sounds come together but, without fusing together into a **संवर**, stop short as a conjunct. I. g.

| S. | Pr or Ap | Guj |
|---------|----------|---------|
| उत्पन्न | उत्पद् | उत्पद्. |
| वदिनी | वदिनी | वदिनी. |
| भगिनी | वदिनी | वदिनी. |
| दृष्ट | दृष्ट | दृष्ट. |

(NOTE:—Here in the case of **वदिनी** there is no possibility of **व** and **ह** fusing into a **संवर**, there being no complex sound composed

⁷ This is a variant of **वदिनी** and is a **संवर** and not a **संयुक्ति** as the one generally obtaining in Gujarati where **व** and **ह** fuse to form a **संवर** or **संयुक्ति** **व्ह**, as in **वह्म-वह्म** etc.

of these two sounds. Only when ग and हृ ए and हृ इ and हृ and such other constituent sounds of a class aspirate come together the question of सवर or समृद्धि arises.)

[There are occasional and apparent exceptions, e.g. अभिज्ञान-अहिष्णाण-अहिणाण-अह्नाण-अधाण. Here $\text{हृ} + \text{न्}$ not stopping at हन् , result into a nasalized घ . For a further examination of this question see *infra* Lecture IV, Section II under the *utsarga* about the shifting of the situation of ह .]

It will be observed also that विच्छेद is a process opposed to सवर, but अर्धविच्छेद is not a step opposed to समृद्धि, but they are both parallel steps, and the resultants of both are alike in form, thus in the समृद्धि in वहति , वहन् the व and हृ and व and हृ respectively which existed separately in वहि (Deśya) and वहिणी (Prakrit), came together and stopped in a समृद्धि state, while in अहिनर , the सर्वाणि भ of अभिनर became विच्छिन्न and stopped short at वह . Thus अर्धविच्छेद is the half way step where sound formation stops short when there is a विच्छेद of a सर्वाणि sound *).

(21) अउत्पत्ति is the name I gave to an उत्सर्ग which has its origin either direct or indirect in the Prakrit grammar itself, and has a further application to Gujarati word formation.

E.g.

- (a) Direct origin.—The change of त to ट has its origin in St. II. VIII-u-29, 30. The difference is that in Prakrit the conjuncts त्त or त्तं (really त्त , for त्तं would become त्त first) become ट whereas the further extension to Gujarati applies to simple त्त also.

Thus मृत्तिवत् - मट्टिभा , वर्ति - वट्टी , but further in Gujarati it applies to simple त्त also e.g. विट्ठल - टील .

The extension to conjuncts in words other than those

* The change of the class *aspirate* into the pure हृ noticeable in the passing from Vedic to Classic Sanskrit or from Sanskrit to Prakrit, really involves first a विच्छेद and then ओ of the unaspirated member e.g. Vedic मृध् class हृध् , Sanskrit मृद् , Prakrit वह् etc.

mentioned in Si. H. VIII-ii 29, 30 would also constitute an अनुपूर्ति.

i. g. मटिनि—मति—मट.

(b) Indirect origin.—Si. H. VIII-i-66 indicates the optional dropping of the initial vowel in two words viz:—अटाय and अटय; Pr. टाय or अटाय, (टाय or अटाय), and टण्य or अटण्य.

This is the distant origin of the Prakrit to Gujarātī वसगं which notes the अव्ययितप्रथमधुनितोप, i. e. the loss of an unaccented initial syllable.

Hemachandra's comment that short अ only is lost and therefore आटय would be आटण्य only and not अटण्य also,—affords a key to the principle of loss when the vowel is unaccented.

This अनुपूर्ति may be called मृत्मातृपूर्ति while the former सुदातृपूर्ति.

(22) संक्रमणोत्तमं or देहनी is an उत्तमं which does not point to a final crystallized form but marks an intermediate, transitional, step.

E. g. The वसगं about the change of म to न्द in अभिनव-अदिनव-अनवत्. As already noted in a previous lecture,* अदिनव (as also अदनव) can not be found in actual language at any period and so this form serves only to pass on the word to the final stage अनवत्.

(Note:—संक्रमणोत्तमं is to be distinguished from अव्ययितप्रथमधुनितोप in that while the former has no final crystallized form answering to it in any case, the latter falls under some वसगं having final formations, but only in particular cases may not note a final crystallized form. e. g.

अभिनवत्—अदिनवत्—अदनवत्—अनवत्.

1 2 3 4

Here the change of ह in 2 to भ in 3 represents only a

transitional form but not found in actual language, and yet the general principle of the change of इ to अ is recognised in an उत्सर्ग which has a number of finally crystallized formations for its scope. (तिल तड, etc.).

We can now proceed to the specific phonetic principles or उत्सर्गs we are so long waiting for. These I *Threefold classification of utsargas.* classify under three heads:—

A. उत्सर्गs peculiar to Gujarâtî alone, and not found working in other Indian vernaculars;

B. उत्सर्गs partially peculiar to Gujarâtî, i. e. such as are shared with other Indian vernaculars, but with some variation;

and C. उत्सर्गs jointly shared with other Indian vernaculars, without any variation in their essential nature.

I take up these classes serially:—

I would preface the enumeration and discussion of the उत्सर्गs by two general rules, which may be taken as *Two Adhikâra-sûtras.* अधिकारसूत्रs throughout the treatment, viz:

I. These उत्सर्गs deal with phonetic changes in words in their transit from Prakṛit and Deśya into Gujarâtî, or occasionally from Sanskrit into Gujarâtî direct.

II. बहुलम्; i. e. the applicability of the principles is not necessarily and rigidly universal, it may have exceptions and odd peculiarities; in short, as the effect of the term बहुलम् is aptly described,

कचिदप्रवृत्तिः कचिदप्रवृत्तिः

कचिद् विभाषा कचिदन्यदेव ।

i. e. the rules are applicable to some cases, are inapplicable to others (where apparently they should be), are sometimes optionally applicable, and sometimes quite a new form results.

Bearing in mind these two अविवक्षित we take up the

CLASS A

Utsargas peculiar to Gujarātī alone.

I— यिचुत अ and आ—

This requires two preliminary उक्तियाँ —

1 An unaccented medial इ and an unaccented medial उ undergo प्रतिमंशसारण; i. e. they become ए and ओ respectively; provided the इ or उ are preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant.

*Prati-Sampra-
sraṇa.*

Examples—

| Sansk. | Pr. | Guj. (Modern and Old) or latest Apabhramśa (O. W. Rajasthānī) |
|----------|------------------------|--|
| गोरिच | गोरिच | बर्षिच |
| | गोरिजे (desya) | बर्षिजे (charcoal) |
| | परभं („) + इट् term. | पयइ |
| वेर | वर | वपर ¹⁰ |
| वैरागी | वरगाँ | वपरागी ¹¹ |
| उपविष्टः | उगइउउ-वइउउ | वपउउ |

(भरणं उणइ वपउउ य तीरथ जायाउउ तेर ।

संभवतिमसौगदगान V. S. 1471—See Mr.

Chimantul D. Dalal's Paper on Pajana Mss. p. 34)

10 (1) Panchikhyāna (Dr. Tenzin's article in Ind. Anth. April 1914 P. 57).

(2) बर्षिजे वर ली बरगि Vimala Prabhalla (V. S. 1564) Khazāna V-25).

We also find वर in Gujarātī Bān (V. S. 1412), St. 17 and in Khazāna V-25, P. 223, वरि (=वरि) in a translation of Bhāgavata (V. S. 1557) (Gujarātī Sāhid Press), March 1910 P. 115.

11 (1) Florent in Mss. 616, 125 Dr. Tenzin's Article in Ind. Anth. April 1914, P. 57.

(2) Gujarātī Bān St. 35.

also *Vaidāla Panchavīsī* (Prose), V. S. 1629, P. 88; वयडु, Do. P. 100, वयेडड, Do. P. 104; पयड Do. P. 136; पयड in *Gautama Rāsa*, St. 9).

[For further instances see under *utsarga* III *infra*, the divisions (a)—(1), rare cases under (c) and (d).]

[This principle operates in all grammatical formations in Modern Gujarātī, e. g.—

बाई (a woman) + डो { a termination } = बायडो (i. e. effeminate,
denoting con-tempt here) } womanish).

भाई { a brother; } + डो { स्वार्थे- } = भायडो (a man,
hence, a man } termination } a husband)

बाई (a woman) + डी { स्वार्थे } = बायडी (a woman)].

उ to घ

| Skr. | Pr. or Apabhr. | Interm. | G. |
|-------|----------------|---------|---|
| अधुना | अटुणा | हउणा | दवणा |
| गौरी | गउरी | | गवरी |
| | | | (in proper names as अंचागवरी तारागवरी and the like). |

[*Sci. Hc.* VIII-i-162 notes the change of औ to अउ in पौरा-दिगण; गौरी is not enumerated in that गण, and it is not stated to be an आकृतिगण. We must therefore take गौरी-गउरी as an instance developed later on.]

| S. | Pr. or Apabhr. | Interm. | G. |
|--------|------------------------|---------|-----------|
| नाथककः | नाहुडड | नाहुडड | नाडडो |
| | | नाडडड | (husband) |
| | बाडली (<i>dīḍya</i>) | बाडली | बाडली |
| | | | (a doll) |
| देवहुड | देउड | | देवड |
| नपुरं | नेउर | | नेवर |

(the fetlocks of a

horse. घोडाના નેર
વાગેટે=the horse
kneels the fet-
locks against ea h
other)

| | | |
|---|---------------|-------|
| આવુવ્યં | આઝગઝ આઝગઝં | આઝગું |
| માનર | માઝરઝ | માઝરો |
| (possible Apabhramśa) (mothers) | | |
| (Si. He VIII-iii-46 gives માઝરઝ as Prakrit). | | |

| | | |
|---------|--------|---------------------|
| વાઝુલઝઃ | વાઝઝઝ | વાઝરો |
| માઝુજા | માઝરી | માઝરી |
| વાઝુજા | વાઝરી | વાઝરી ¹² |
| | દેઝાઝર | દેઝાઝર |

[Note—દેઝાઝર is found in *Kanhala Prabandha*, IV, 12 also in *Vimala-prabandha*, I, 69, and *Lotilla-prachariti* (poem) P. 3, st. 21, also P. 62, st. 616. આઝગું is found in the *Arachita* to *Dafarail* in *Sitra*, VIII, 34. મઝરી is found in *Sidayatras-Vira Varita*, also in the song of Javanta Sonigaro V. S. 1670, extract given by Dr. Tessitori in his article on Bardie Survey to J. A. S. Beng. N. S. XII, 1916 A. D., and મિઝરી in *Kur'ra Mahari Clapua* (V. S. 1603), also in *Ur' Darana* by Janardana (V. S. 1546), Kadarun N. 1 1.]

[In old Gujarati an ઙ is changed to ય even when preceded by a consonant, e. g.

જુલ્લજ્જં મોહુઝિ ઇમતિયો
મોસંન વર્તન જરિ ષતિયો
વરિય મોરી મોસ્યંદો

(*Padmanatha*, V. S. 1715 Ms. In *Gujarat Si. Patra* Vol. XII May). મિઝરી turned into ઘઝરી (1837-1842, *P. 111*).

12. The ઘઝારીયો is found in the *Si. Patra* Vol. XII May. The *Si. Patra* Vol. XII May. The *Si. Patra* Vol. XII May.

of *ja*, P 81, l 16 P 83 l 13, P 102, l 20) will also illustrate this change of *इ* to *य* even when preceded by a consonant]

(The genesis of *प्रतिसप्रसारण* may be thus, when the *इ-उ* find themselves in a subordinate position they seek, as it were, some support for self preservation, and an adventitious *अ* steps in to furnish such support resulting in the usual *sandhi*: *इ+अ=य* and *उ+अ=व* Pāṇini's rule *इको यणचि* operates here, this rule is practically the reverse process of *इण्यणः सप्रसारणम्*. The change of *यण* to *इक्* being called *सप्रसारण* that of *इक्* to *यण* may well be termed *प्रतिसप्रसारण* or *anti samprasāraṇa*)

(2) An unaccented medial *ए* becomes *य* and an unaccented medial *ओ* becomes *व* provided the *ए* or *ओ* is preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant

Examples —

| S | Pr nr Apabhr | G |
|--------|-------------------------|-----|
| गृहीतर | ¹³ घएलउ घयलउ | घलो |

[Note — (a) *घयलउ* here is but a transitional form and if no other instances can be found, this would be a *सङ्गमणोत्सर्ग*.

(b) This will be only so far as the progress from Prakrit into Gujarati is concerned for in Gujarati itself in grammatical changes the principle of this *utsarga* operates, e.g. *गएलो-गयलो* (Surati Gujarati) Consequently the paucity of instances need not vitiate this *utsarga*]

| | | |
|-----|---------------|-----|
| पाद | पाओ (+term ल) | पाउ |
| , | , (+term ड) | पाव |

[Note — A final *ओ*, when unaccented, becomes *व* in some cases e.g.

| | | |
|-----|-----|-----|
| पाद | पाओ | पाव |
| घात | घाओ | घाव |

But this result can either be accounted for by the change of *ओ* to *उ* and then to *व* nr by the Apabhraṃśa forms ending in *उ* (पाउ, घाउ) changing their *उ* to *व* by the *प्रतिसप्रसारण* process]

(2) A द्रुततर अ is dropped.

Dr. T. S. of a
druta tara अ

Example —

| S. | Pr. or Apalhr | G. |
|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| अदम् | अद-दं | दं |
| वदन् | वदन् | दन् |
| अपारि | अपारि-भञ्ज | दन् |
| पद्मा | पद्म-पद्म | पद्म |
| | पद्मो (D. 190) | पद्मो (D. 190). |

[Dr. T. S. (Notes on the Grammar of the O. W. Bija-
atini § 83) derives the Apalhr दं from अदम् (Skr.). I believe दं is
evolved out of अद by metathesis and the usual Apalhran (a
change of a final अ to द. This dispenses with the unnecessary and
rather queer importation of the व termination. However Varar-
uchi's *Prakara Pral. 11, XI, 2* gives अद्वे as *Madadhi* for अदम्.]

The *ntargas* about विद् अ and अि may now be laid down —
Enunciation —

UTSARG 1

The विद् (a
rule) is not of
अ and अि, विद्
and अपविद्.

- (1) Under the operation of *ntargas* (1) and
- (2) mentioned above medial अ and अि as well
as medial अ and अि are transitionally changed
into अ and अि, and these are finally changed
into the wide अ and अि respectively

(The term *media* is used here to exclude the *real* अ-अ
it may therefore be regarded as inclusive of initial अ-अ as in
अविद्-अविद्-अविद्-अविद्, अविद्-अविद्-अविद्-अविद्
Perhaps a neutral word would be a better term)

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| पट्टलं पट्टं or मट्टं | पट्टलं-पट्टलं मट्ट | पट्ट (a tiara worn by a bride, also by the mother of a bride or of a bridegroom) |
| गौरी | गउरी | गौरि (the goddess worshipped by maidens in the month, <i>Āśāḍḍā</i>). |
| चतुरस्रं चतुर्णं | चउरस्र चउरु | चरित चरि (a square) |
| गवाधः | गवधु | गवि |
| वसिष्ठ | वसिष्ठ वरु | वडि |
| वपरिका | वपरिभा | वारी |
| समर्पयति | समप्ये समप्य | |
| | समप्य रीय | रंति |
| वः पुनः | वउण वउण | वणि |
| वयवयः | वयवय | वडिपो |
| नरमी | नरमी | नमि (the ninth day in a half month) |
| अन्यथा | अन्यथा | अनानु ¹⁴ |
| | अनानु ¹⁵ | नानु |

14. ननु is more commonly current than अननु. I find अननु used by Mr. Nandlal Dalaj alias Kavi in his Introduction to a poem by Tribhuvan Lalasankar, entitled *Kāṭhīn Vāṭhā* at p. 18, line 3. A dramatic play entitled *कुटी कट* by Mr. Manisankar R. Chatterji and another has this same word, at p. 133, line last but one. (In a letter dated 1st June 1917 Mr. Manisankar Chatterji, addressed to me in reply to my inquiry, disclaims all knowledge of and responsibility for this word, saying that the portion in question was written by his collaborator Mr. Dityal who is a Turgidli, belonging to Vaidyanatha. Mr. Nandlal Kavi has not favoured me with a reply to my repeated inquiries regarding the use of

Examples:—

विवृत अ

| Skr. | Pr. or Apabhr. | G. |
|------------|----------------------------|-------|
| वैरं | वइरु | वर |
| प्रविष्टकः | पइठुउ | पडो |
| उपविष्टकः | उवइठुउ वइठउ | बडो |
| प्रविशति | पविसइ पइसइ | पसे |
| उपविशति | उवविसइ उवइसइ वइसइ | बसे |
| वधिरकः | वधिरउ वइरउ | व्हरो |
| सिधिलकं | सिदिलउं सइलउं | सहं |
| | मइलउं (<i>Dīṣya</i>) | महं |
| | (Skr. मलिनकं or Ap. मइलउं) | |
| | उइलु („) | उल |
| | वइलउं („) वइलउं | वहं |
| | वइलउं | |
| | वइंगथ („) | वंगण |

| | | |
|--------|-----------|----------------------|
| नयनं | नयथु | नण |
| वचनं | वपथु | वण |
| रजनी | रयणी | रण |
| ग्रहणं | गइथु वपथु | घन (=intoxication) . |

Dīṣya

अयाली अयली . हली (=incessant rain).

अर्धविवृत ए:—

| Pr. or Apabhr. or <i>Dīṣya</i> | G. |
|---|------|
| करइ | करे |
| बोलइ | बोले |
| Post Apabhr. उइ (later form of अउइ—अउइ) | छे |
| घरनइ (dative term. नइ) | घरने |

विवृत अ—

सकुलं

मउल

मरि (Mango flowers)

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| टुपुल्लं छट्टं or मट्टं | पट्टल्लं-पट्टल्लं मट्ट | पट्टि मट्टि (a tiara worn by a bride, also by the mother of a bride or of a bride- groom.) |
| गौरी | गवरी | गरिय (the goddess worshipped by maidens in the month, <i>Ashādhar</i>). |
| चतुरस्रं चतुष्पं | चट्टरसु चट्टु | चरिस चॉक (a square) |
| गवाधः करिधं करिधिका समर्पयति | गरवधु करिधु करट्टु करिभा समणेरु समण्ड समण्ड सैवण्ड | गरि कॉडि कॉडी संघे |
| कः पुनः कवट्टकवट्ट नवमी | कवण कवण कवट्टकवट्ट नवमी | कॉण कॉट्टिपो नवमि (the ninth day in a half-month) |
| अन्यपठकं | अन्यपठकं अन्यपठकं | अननं ¹ ननं |

14. कट्टि is more commonly current than मट्टि. I find कट्टि used by Mr. Nimm Dalapatras Kavi in his Introduction to a poem by Tiruvanan Prémānkar, entitled *Kalidasa Varako*, at p. 13, line 3. A dramatic play entitled *कुली छट्ट* by Mr. Manikankar R. Bhatta and another has this same word, at p. 155, line last but one. (In a letter dated 1st June 1917 Mr. Manikankar Bhatta, addressed to me in reply to my letter, disclaims all knowledge of and responsibility for this word, saying that the portion in question was written by his collaborator, Mr. Dityam who is a Teravāḍī, belonging to Valangava. Mr. Nimm Kavi has not far-acted me with a reply to my repeated inquiries regarding the word.)

Let us try and analyze this *utsarga* in a different manner now.

I have said that this *utsarga* is peculiar to Gujarati and Marathi phonology. It does not operate in Marathi or Hindi or any other hundred vernaculars. Well, let us compare the sounds in Gujarati Marathi and Hindi

this word. But this much is certain that अनखि is in use in some parts of Gujarati. This form of the word furnishes a valuable link between नखि and its origin (अन्यपक्षक)

Hemachandra (S. H. VIII iv 422) gives नख as an *ādēśa* of नव. The नख (नखड) may be advanced as the original of नखि and with apparent reason. But there are some strong points in favour of अन्यपक्षक as the origin of नखि they are —

- (a) One of the Mss. of S. H. gives the reading नवख instead of नख (See S. P. Pandit's Edition of *Kumārā Pāla Charita* Appendix, P. 198 note 18)
- (b) अनखि is, in fact, used, even if rarely, in some parts of Gujarati.
- (c) अनखि is found freely used in Hindi literature
- (d) The ख or वख tacked on to नव by Hemachandra appears quite inexplicable and its arbitrary nature leaves a mystery, while अन्यपक्षक supplies a good explanation of the वख and eventual ख

Thus, it is clear that नवख, really an evolutive of अन्यपक्षक before Hemachandra's time was regarded by him as an *ādēśa* of नव on the strength of the eventual similarity of sense and external similarity in sound, and ignoring the real phonetic phases, especially the loss of the unaccented initial syllable in अनखड.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhatnagar derives अनख (H) from अनपेक्ष (क), (His Philological Lectures, P. 168). But, with all respect, I give preference to अन्यपक्षक for reasons that will be seen at once.

- (1) अनपेक्षक would be अनपेखड in Prākṛit. Now the ण remains unchanged in Gujarati (See *infra*, the *utsarga* about the change of ण to न), whereas अनखि has a न
- (2) It may be questioned whether अनखि means 'unexpected' in Hindi. I should think it has the same sense as the Gujarati नखि, viz. 'separate', 'unusual'. True the sense may be altered but it involves some wrench.
- (3) The प in वे will have to be changed to न, and there seems no phonetic ground for it.

| G. | M. | H. |
|---------|------------------------|---------|
| वेत्तुं | वेत्तुं | वेत्तना |
| वेत् | वेत् | वेत् |
| गेत् | गेत् (form गदिर् skr.) | गेत् |
| वेत्तुं | वेत्तुं | वेत्तना |
| वेत्तुं | वेत्तुं | वेत्तना |
| वेत्तुं | वेत्तुं | वेत्तना |
| वेत्तुं | वेत्तुं | वेत्तना |
| वेत्तुं | वेत्तुं | वेत्तना |
| वेत्तुं | वेत्तुं | वेत्तना |

[In the case of M. वेत्तुं there is an exception in the form of the alternative वेत्तुं].

If we watch and compare the sounds in the above words as spoken by the people, we shall find marked differences in each of the three languages. While each is evolved out of the contextual vocalic groups अइ and अउ (or out of अय and अउ), the Gujarati sound is a distinctly wide one (as in "hit" and awl), making a complete fusion of the अ and इ and अ and उ, the Marathi sound leans more towards इ and उ and makes the resulting diphthong narrow, while the Hindi sound, leaning more towards the अ of the vocalic groups (अइ-अउ), approximates the wide sound of Gujarati upto a certain point, but stops short there, and is not the same wide, fused sound as the Gujarati one. At the same time the Hindi sound is not the pure diphthongal sound of Sanskrit, but resembles अय अउ a good deal thus making the symbols 'ai' and 'au' wrong indicators strictly speaking. This is indicated indirectly by the fact noted by Mr. Brames (Vol. I, p. 5) that (even) the dual o (औ) in old Hindi has a wide pronunciation like aw. Much more so would it sound wide I would say, in medial औ.

(The Pargali language does possess a wide औ of a peculiar kind; but that is not the outcome of any अइ or अउ in the antecedent phonetic state, it is the peculiar pronunciation of औ as in वत्तुं (pronounced as वत्तुं), वत्तुं (pronounced as वत्तुं) and so

forth. It may therefore be distinguished and excluded from the examination under which we shall place the Gujarātī विवृत sound).

Now, a few instances of words which have come into Gujarātī from Arabic and Persian will help us in our work here. They are words like the following:—

| <i>Instances of the wide sound in words of Persian and Arabic origin</i> | Arabic or Persian | Guj. |
|--|-------------------|-----------|
| | गयूरत | गरत |
| | गयूब | गब |
| | अयूब | अब |
| | दयूरान | हरान |
| | कबूल | कल |
| | etcetera. | etcetera. |

Again consider these words:—

| | |
|-----|-----|
| झहर | झर |
| कहर | कर |
| शहर | शहर |

In these words the steps of phonetic mutation are:—

कहर—कहअर—कअर—कयर—कर;
 शहर—शहअर—शहयर—शहर (शहर);
 झहर—झअर—झयर—झर.

I need not repeat that these serial steps are not given as represented, in all their stages, in actual writing; it could not be the case. All that is intended is to indicate the course through which the phonetic current must have run. The strong probability of this course will be seen when we remember that the द sound (as will be shown hereafter) has a general tendency to shift from the centre to the beginning of words; thus, in these cases, leaving an अय sound which forms the eventual wide अ. For, if you sound the अय and अय in all the abovenamed words, as also in the words वयूर, वयूण, कवूड, गवूख, and the like mentioned before, you

will notice the peculiar विसृत nature of the phonal process which alone can give the Gujarati विसृत अ and आ

Now, let us examine the sound in the following words on the basis of accentuation —

An examination of
the whole stand on
the basis of acen-
tuation.

| | Skr. | Pr. Apabh | G |
|---|-----------------|-----------|--|
| (a) गर्गीर | 15 गर्गीर | गर्गीर | गर् |
| (b) चंपवनगरी | चंपानभरी | चंपानपुरी | चंपानहरी चांपानेर |
| (Similarly वाकरी, भमजनरे, वीरानेर and the like) | | | |
| (c) अपहार | अंपभार 16 अंपहर | अंपहर | अंपर |
| (d) वणपन्नी | वणगर्नी | वणगर्नी | वानोर्नी वणगर्नी (the name of a village in Sorat District). |
| (e) चतुर्गंध | चतुर्गंध | चतुर्गंध | चौद |
| (f) चतुर्ग | चतुर्ग | चतुर्ग | चौर |

15 True, the case of $\frac{1}{2}$ does not fall under the principle we are considering because of the long $\frac{1}{2}$, but it is taken for that very reason, as the long $\frac{1}{2}$ furnishes a sure test, showing, as it does, that the long $\frac{1}{2}$ which is necessarily accented, comes in the way of $\frac{1}{2}$.

(In °नगरी the १० of नदरी, because of its accent on १, takes its place in subordinating the ex. as the tendency of the first member "and" is the १ gets the accent transmitted to it also.)

[illegible]

10. Dr. SHELTON has taken care to provide as a part
of his equipment, an extra set of the following articles (to be used if needed)

| | | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|-------------------------|--------|--------|
| II | (a) | वैर | वइर | वयर | वैर |
| | (b) | वपदिना | वपदिभा | कपडी | काडी |
| | (c) | पृथुलक | पहुलउं | पुलउं | पुल्ल |
| | (d) | भानुजाया | भाउजाआ | भाउजाई | भाजाई |
| | (e) | अन्यपक्ष | अन्यपक्षउ ¹⁷ | अनरसु | अनरसुं |

(then नसुं=separate).

In group I you will observe that in the vocable groups (स्वरगुण), अइ (अई)—अउ (अऊ), the accent is on the second member, whereas in Group II it is on the first member, i. e. on अ. Now, the स्थान of अ is पण्ड and the wide sound is produced by a

direct from आउ. (See his Wilson Philological Lectures, Pp 100 and 145, though I note that he has not given the Gujarati words, but only अंवेर as II and M and भाजिइ II भावजई M. and पौन II) But I believe these must pass through the shortening stage shown above, of अनिधान—पइधान—पइठण—पंठण (The principle of बीजकण्व works here) The shortening of the आ is the effect of the accent being on the following syllable initially but as soon as this effect is secured the accent shifts and falls on the shortened आ=अ and this yields the विंन sound through the अय्-अइ change. This shifting of the accent is a curious phenomenon, very interesting to pursue in the analytical investigation of word formations.

17 Here, although वइर leaves व accented at the early stage, the accent gives way under the double influence of

- (1) The simplification of the conjunct वइ, without the compensating lengthening of the preceding vowel

and

- (2) The tendency to accentuate the second syllable of a word where the first syllable is unaccented and eventually therefore gets dropped.

(The change of व in वइ to व indicates that the word is become a part of the whole compound and hence the व is evidently subordinated, an initial व can be changed into व, and so वइ is not a word here as a distinct word)

peculiar ¹widening of the φ or glottis. This विहृत nature of अ is thus the source of the wide sound in अ and अ and it is helped by the φ and φ as noted above (*Vide* pp. 124, 125 *supra*), of course under the operation of the accent falling on it.

The alternative evolutions of गौरी viz (a) गौरी (a fair woman) and (b) गौरी (the goddess worshipped by maidens in the month of *Āśvīn*), i. e. the narrow sound in the case of (a) and the wide sound in that of (b), can thus be accounted for by the shifting of accent from one member to the other in the vocalic group अइ in the word.

An examination of some *apparent* exceptions,—apparent ones only, be it remembered,—will go further to support the theory I advance about the विहृत sound being due to the accentuation of the अ in the प्राप्तमः , अइ and अइ —

Some apparent exceptions to their support of the theory

| Sanskrit | Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa & further steps | Gujarātī | Remarks as to causes etc |
|-----------|---|-------------------|--|
| 1 गुरुभरक | गरुड गरुड गरुड | गरो | The accent on ग (which is <i>guru</i> because of the conjunct next after it) deprives the अ in अग of its accent and consequent preponderance. Hence the ग gets accented and its अ is not <i>गुरु</i> and therefore not dropped. Thus अग is not formed which alone would give the wide अ. Consequently the ग undergoes <i>samprasāraṇa</i> and thus अ and इ unite into a narrow ए. NOTE.—The accent here is to be considered as relative between अ and इ (or उ) and not with reference to the word as a whole. (a) ए in वरु is <i>guru</i> and hence accented (b) तर begins a new sense bearing portion of the word, Hence the अ of अग remains unaccented and the ग gets accented. Result as above अ + इ = ए (narrow) |
| 2 वरुमतर | वरुमर वरुमर | वरो (= १ colt) | |
| 3 वनतर | वणर वणर | वणे | |
| 4 भदतर | भणर भणर | भरे | |
| 5 अन्यतर | अनगर अनगर | अने | |

Causes and results as above *mutatis mutandis*

(cf also वरे from वृक्ष similarly Dr Bhandarkar (his Lectures, P. 14) thinks वरे (S) is formed by adding the termination र. But तर would properly account for the र in वरे)

19 Dr Teggator would put टक here as a precursor of ट

The change of π to η (which can occur only if the letter is initial) shows that $\pi\tau$ is only a part of the whole word. Consequently the accent, not falling on π , falls on τ , which therefore undergoes $\pi\tau \rightarrow \eta\tau$.

Result $\eta + \xi = \eta$ (narrow.)

The ξ here is the residue of the beginning of the root portion of $\xi\tau + \eta\tau$, retains its predominance, and is therefore accented, and escapes η 's compression. Result $\eta + \xi = \eta$ (narrow.)

NOTE:—In $\eta\tau\eta\tau\eta\tau$ ($\eta\tau\eta\tau\eta\tau$) the result is dierent (i. e. the $\eta\tau$ has the accent on η and hence the ξ becoming subordinate becomes τ , giving the broad sound in $\eta\tau$), although the conditions are apparently similar to those in $\eta\tau\eta\tau$, in that the ξ left from $\eta\tau$ is the initial syllable of the root portion of $\eta\tau + \eta\tau$. The reason is that in $\eta\tau$ the accent is on τ to start with, and the loss of the unaccented initial η of $\eta\tau\eta\tau$ (giving $\eta\tau\eta\tau$ as the next step) strengthens the accent on the τ (η , the evolute of τ), which becomes initial in a compact root-like formation, $\eta\tau\eta$. Thus the accent falls on the η of $\eta\tau$ and not on τ . One little fact may seem to go against the explanation, viz., that the elision of τ in $\eta\tau$ would indicate that the root portion is not regarded as a separate word (such elision being always in the case of initial consonants). But it may be held rightly that

| Sanskrit | Prakrit or Apabhramga & further steps | Gujarati | Remarks as to causes etc |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| ४ ० गगरी | ० गगरी ० गगरी | ० गेर, as in गगने, गगने, गगने and sneh other names of towns | for the purpose of accentuation the root nature of ग still clings to it and hence its operation in changing the अ to ए direct) The reason here may at first sight seem difficult to find Dr Tesitori accounts for the narrow sound by regarding the penultimate ए as a final one because the final अ is quiescent (Vide P 78 of his article on Bardic Survey J A S Being N S XII 1916 A D) I think there is another and a better explanation Although the ए, as beginning गगरी would naturally be accented yet it is the ग (and its evolute ए) that is accented here because गगरी as the second member in these compounds (गगरी etc) is a subordinate element and hence the initial ए occupies a secondary place and loses its accentuation in favour of the following syllable ग and its evolute ए As a result the अ in अग remains unaccented and its tendency to widen the glottis becomes inoperative the ए becomes ए and अ + ए unite into a narrow ए The अ in ग is distinctly accented in the shortened stago tho अ in ग retains this accent hence the first अ in अग remains enbordinate and unaccented, consequently ग becomes ग and अ + ग = ए (narrow) |
| १ अन्यकार | अगार अगार अगार | अए | |

(With this may be contrasted the cases of अङ्गि and अङ्ग where the अङ्ग obviously accented, transmits its accent to its successor अङ्ग , and thus the first member in अङ्ग-अङ्ग is accented, yielding the wide अङ्ग-अङ्ग as a result. Also contrast the case of $\text{अङ्गि-सुम अङ्गि-अङ्गि-अङ्गि}$ (changed to $\text{अङ्गि-सुम अङ्गि-अङ्गि-अङ्गि}$ as a result. Dr. Taittiri derives the word thus; see his "Notes" § 148. Here too the conditions are the same, turning अङ्गि to अङ्ग .)

१० अङ्गि

अङ्गि
अङ्गि

10 अङ्गि

(a) अङ्ग , coming between अङ्ग and अङ्ग , has to be emphasized in order to be pronounced distinctly and clearly, especially as all the three end in अङ्ग ;

(b) The final अङ्ग ending in अङ्ग becomes subordinate;

Hence the अङ्ग is predominant and accented, and the अङ्ग of अङ्ग is unaccented. Result:— अङ्ग becomes अङ्ग and the अङ्गि-अङ्ग (narrow).

११ अङ्गि
(अङ्गि अङ्गि)

अङ्गि
अङ्गि

11 अङ्गि

The अङ्ग is *guru*, because of the conjunct (अङ्गि) after it, and, being thus accented, it leaves the अङ्ग of अङ्गि unaccented. Result:— अङ्गि narrow.

20. "अङ्गि अङ्गि अङ्गि अङ्गि अङ्गि" (Pramāṇa; Nāṭyaśāstra, XV).

21. The अङ्गि ending of this word seems to be the result of a false analogy: the Hindi अङ्गि appearing like the plural of अङ्ग , and the Hindi masculine अङ्ग ending corresponding to the अङ्ग ending in Gujarati.

| Sanskrit. | Prakrit or Apabhramsa & further steps. | Gujarati. | Remarks as to causes, etc. |
|-------------|--|--|---|
| 12 कसपटिना | कसपटिआ कसपट्टी कसउटी | कसोट्टी (= a touch stone). | <p>(a) The <i>प</i> has its <i>अ</i> made <i>guru</i> by the following conjunct;</p> <p>(b) The <i>प</i> begins a new word; (although a second member of a compound it retains its independence for purposes of accent),</p> <p>(c) <i>स</i> ends the first word in the compound;</p> <p>These causes render the <i>अ</i> of <i>स</i> (<i>प</i>) unaccented, because <i>प</i> is accented. Result—अप becomes अउ (उ accented) and अ+उ change to औ (narrow).</p> <p>(a) The <i>अ</i> in <i>प</i> is <i>guru</i> and accented;</p> <p>(b) The <i>अ</i> in <i>प</i> is also <i>guru</i> and accented;</p> <p>(c) <i>प</i> begins a new word (as in the case of No. 12 above);</p> <p>(d) The <i>अ</i> in <i>प</i> ends the first word of the compound,</p> <p>Result—अ is above,—अप-अउ (अउ)—औ (narrow).</p> |
| 13 पणपल्लरी | पणपल्लरी पणउल्लरी पणउली | पणोली (name of a village in the Surat district) | |

- (a) $\eta\tau$ is τ and accented.
 (b) $\tau(\kappa)$ is long and accented. The ϵ both are
 accented.
 (c) τ begins a new word (as above).
 (d) The χ in τ ends the first word of a compound.
 Hence the χ of $\tau-\tau$ (i.e. the χ in $\chi\kappa$) is 'plordi-
 nate and therefore unaccented —

Result $-\chi+\kappa=\chi\tau$ (narrow)

Carries the same τ above, *misleadingly*

Result $-\chi+\kappa=\chi\tau$ (narrow)

(Note — It need not be pointed out that the last two instances, $\tau\tau\tau$ and $\tau\tau\tau\tau$ are given here for the same purpose for which $\tau\tau\tau$ is included above, viz. to show how *prolepsis* is prevented by the long κ and the consequent accent on it, in other words, the deficiency in the conditions requisite for the $\tau\tau$ sound.

- (a) The τ is strong on account of the subsequent conjunct,
 (b) $\tau\tau$ is a separate word, for the purposes of
 accent,
 (c) The final χ of $\eta\tau\chi$ occupies a subordinate
 position.
 Result as before $-\chi+\tau(\kappa)=\chi\tau$ (narrow)

$\eta\tau\tau$

$\eta\tau\tau\tau$

$\eta\tau\tau\tau\tau$

$\tau\tau\tau$

$\tau\tau\tau\tau$
 $\tau\tau\tau\tau\tau$

$\tau\tau\tau\tau\tau$

$\eta\tau\tau\tau$

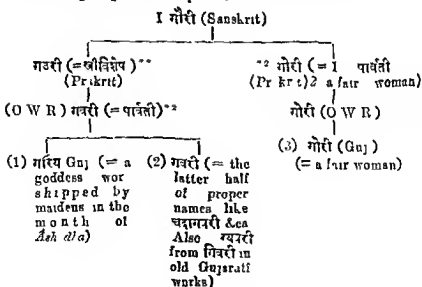
$\eta\tau\tau\tau\tau$
 $\eta\tau\tau\tau\tau\tau$

$\eta\tau\tau\tau\tau\tau$

All these facts, noted above, will go to show

- (a) That when in the vocalic group अइ or अउ, अ is accented, the इ-उ, getting subordinate, the ultimate result is the wide sound अ-अ
 - (b) That when in these groups the इ-उ are accented their prominence leads to the uniting of अ and इ and अ and उ into the narrow ए and ओ
 - (c) That the wide sound is akin to अय्-अय् rather than to अइ-अउ
 - (d) That the इ-उ when subordinate turn into य-य (and then ए-ए),
- and (e) That thus the wide sound is the result of अय्-अय् and the narrow one is the result of अइ-अउ

Let us now look at two or three comparative instances from identical words to further illustrate pointedly the operation of these principles, I put them in the form of a genealogical tree for the sake of giving a clear impression



Here, Gujarātī has (1) गरिय (2) ° गउरी, and (°) गौरी each

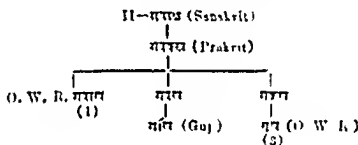
22 Vide. Kumārapala charita' V, 80 IV, 56 and I 75 et cetera Also Index to it (Edited by S P Pandit).

in a different sense, and the phonetic processes are different, as under.—

(1) अ॒य-अ॒य-अ॒य-अ॒, (it is to be noted in this case that the final य becomes subordinate and turns into य; whereas in (2) it remains prominent and preserves the अ of य from becoming य॒य॒य॒, and hence the अ॒य stays on, and we have ग॒य॒य॒).

(2) अ॒य-अ॒य See note just above under (1)

(3) The ओ has come direct from Prakrit under the operation of the general rule in *Sa. Hist.* VIII-1-159. (I shall soon consider below the nature and genesis of this operation. I may only state here that in the contraction of ओ to ओ the ओ passes through अ॒य, wherein य is prominent and hence the narrow ओ.)



कोटि छद् कोसीसां घणां²³ गुण गवाय मद्र मतवारणां ।

(*Khandā* III, St. 245).

III—रुक्ण (*Apabhramśa*)

↓
कडण (*O. W. R.*)

(*O. W. R.*) कुण

कवण (*O. W. R.*)

↓
कर्ण (*Guj.*)

Here also the results, कुण and कर्ण, are as in गुण (*गूण*) and गरि, the only difference being that, while the ऊ in गरि is long, that in कडण is short, and yet some how it occupies a prominence which ousts the अ off.

We may also contrast—चोटावत, चंद्रावत &c. which contain वन as the final evolute of पुन through पुत्त, उत्त,²⁴ with गुदिलोत्त from गुदिलपुत्त, गुदिलउत्त, the point of contrast being that, in the latter case the अ उ unites into a narrow ओ because of the strong उ, while in the former the strength is more than counteracted by the long आ preceding it, and hence the change into व.

It may be objected Is not this fixing of the accent an arbitrary procedure? What is the guide for fixing it? Does it not amount to begging the question when you fix the accent on the अ or on the इ-उ (or य-व) according as the resulting sound is wide or narrow?

Is this accent theory arbitrary? Does it involve a begging of the question?

23. *Karmāna Mantri's Sīdhdharāna* (V. S. 1526) also has गूळ and गवळ in juxta-position गूळ गवळनर मालिमां रुमडा उत्तम ठाम; (*Description of Ayodhyā*).

(This double barrelled word must have been a conventional expression, it seems).

Yamala prabandha (V S 1568) has गुळ with a short उ (See *Khandā* I, st 55)

24 The उत्त becomes वत by *prati samprasāraṇa* in these cases I do not believe that पुन-पुत्त becomes पुत्त and thus वत्त; for in the case of गुदिलोत्त the steps are पुत्त-उत्त. (not पुत्त, पुत्त, उत्त).

My answer to the first and last question is—No and to the second question the answer is furnished in the reason I shall just give for this answer being in the negative. We have the guide and the test in certain instances where the accent is obvious and undisputable, e.g. पति, विमल, भय, नदी, पद्म, गङ्गा, and in the light of these we detect the location of the accent in the other cases. *always with good reason for the accent*. In this subsequent process if the method appears to be *a priori*, it has a justification and is not the same as begging the question for the test indications have already disclosed to us the governing principle, and we trace it backwards from the visible results in cases of possible dispute, and see how it fits in. This method is, I believe, fairly permissible and frequently resorted to in all inquiries of this nature.

I hope all this lengthy analysis will be sufficient to support my theory regarding the accent on the *ai* of the vocalic groups *ai* and *ai* being the operating cause of the wide sound. As regards their passing through the *ai* and *ai* stage I may be allowed to reproduce what I have said elsewhere —

"It may thus be safely inferred that this anti-symplosion process has its share in the case of one as well as of a group, and, whether all words passed through the process in actual language or not, the phonetic evolution of the double and, as treated here, may be safely accepted as indicating the underlying principle. Some may contend that the latter theory would be to hold that भय and भृ of words like अय, अय, गय, वय, भय, pass through the भय and भृ stage by the anti-symplosion process before reaching the broad sound of e and . But I am not inclined to abandon the theory advanced by me because whereas there are some instances in actual language (e. g. अय आ) in Pāṇini to be as आ, which indicate the anti-symplosion process, there

are no actual instances of the अय् of words like नयण &c. having changed into अइ; and when in some cases, the अय् has changed to अइ (as in जनक-सय(कं)-सइकु), the sound has either stopped short at *ai* or become ऐ in Gujarātī, and not been broadened into ऐ.

(The Indian Antiquary XLIV, 18-19:—January 1915)

[In this extract after the words "stopped short at *ai*" in the last sentence, I would now add —or turned into long ए, or, in the case of अव, into long ओ, e. g. *वेर* &c., *पानोटी* etc.]

As I have already hinted, you have only to sound अइ and अव and अय् and अत् to realize that the latter alone can give the wide sound as a result. By way of a further indication I would cite the Gujarātī word तई, from the word तत (from तत्.²⁵ Sanskrit) in use in the language of the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era, which became तव in later Gujarātī, and a side reflection of which is seen in the Hindi तव. This would certainly go against the *samprasāraṇa* theory and support my *anti-samprasāraṇa* theory. I cite this instance only for the purpose of illustrating the *anti-samprasāraṇa* theory, although this case would fall under the section of this *utsarga* which deals with the अविवृत sound.

There are some persons who ask whether these अइ and अव formations in Prākṛit for ऐ and औ in Sanskrit (e. g. वइर for वैर and गवर for गौरव) are not merely artificial forms, not having any counterpart in actual speech. The answer is clear. They cannot be, and are not, artificial formations. The reasons are:—

(1st.) That artificiality is an idea which is essentially inconsistent with the evolution of language;

Arguments answering the charge that the intermediate stages अइ अव are artificial.

(2ndly) That there is nothing to show that the Prākṛit grammars dealt with any unspoken language;

25. Dr Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar derives तई from तवत् (Sanskrit) तव (Pr.)—See his Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 116. This may be more probable, the *Mughdhārāśedha Aṭṭakā* gives तव (see p. 17, col. 1. of H. H. Dhruva's Edition तव किञ्चित् तवः दिव्).

- (3rdly) That the actual falling of words like वदर, वदरामि &c. would point to the preceding अइ in them, it being impossible for ऐ-अं to jump direct into अइ-अउ
- (4thly) That the analysis of the वितृप्त sound shown above shows the necessary splitting up of the ऐ and अं into अइ and अउ respectively, whereby the accent on the अ becomes the determining factor;
- (5thly) That ऐ and अं are really more artificial than अइ and अउ, ऐ and अं as diphthongs cannot really claim to be natural simple vowels, the difference between ऐ and अं on the one hand and अइ and अउ on the other is simply of the length of interval between the components अ and इ or अ and उ, in ऐ and अं it is extremely small, so the Pāli and Pāli speakers facilitated the pronunciation either by changing them into ऐ and अं or into इ and उ, or by widening the interval between the component simple vowels.
-

and so had अइ and अउ. The difficulty they encountered in the case of conjunct consonants which they solved, amongst other processes by resorting in विश्लेष (separation of the members), was felt in a reduced intensity in the case of these conjunct vowels (so to call them), and was solved by a vocalic विश्लेष into अइ and अउ as one of the remedies.

Mr Keshavlal H. Dhruva holds that the अइ and अउ were seen in written classical Prākṛit works but he doubts their existence in spoken Prākṛit. His only reason is that in some words in Gujarātī the ऐ-औ are still preserved (e.g. सैजपर, बौठा, — names of villages-cited by him to which I would add छैपो (= a son), and भैयो), and the tendency amongst villagers to pronounce राइ as रै and ग्हाउ as ग्हाँ (See his *Vag 19apara* P. 8). I am afraid this is not a very strong reason.

His argument is based on the assumption of a theory that phonetic principles cannot bear a break of continuity, he seems to argue that because ऐ-औ were pronounced as such in Sanskrit and are also found in certain Gujarātī words at present, therefore in Prākṛit also the sounds must have had the same aspect, and if अइ-अउ are seen in writing they must be merely artificial forms used in writing only otherwise the अइ-अउ would create a break in the continuity of vocal process⁷⁷. I may simply point out that the assumption herein involved is gratuitous, and is falsified by a number of instances where there is apparent break of continuity, e.g. छ

Mr K H Dhruva's theory that the अइ and अउ existed in written works only not in spoken Prākṛit

His argument examined and controverted

He assumes wrongly a theory that phonetic principles must have an unbroken continuity

७७ “ऐ-औ ने प्राकृतमाधी वैयाकरणिए वातल करेला छे. शिष्ट प्राकृतमा संस्कृत ऐ-औने ठेकाणे अइ-अउ एवी जोडगी मळ्यो आवे छे. परंतु लोकनी बोलीमा एवी पृथक्कृति थई नहिं होय, एटले के ऐ-औ ते ऐ-औ रूपे अपृथक्कृत बोलाता हरो एम न होय तो सँ औ सैजपर बौठा जेवा सादा चाछ न-दोमा ऐ-औ नो उच्चार

found in Vedic Sanskrit, lost in classical Sanskrit, found again in *Prākṛit*, in Pāli. In Bhatt languages in Gujarātī and in Marāṭhī, similarly the Sanskrit न is changed into ण in Prākṛit, and yet in Gujarātī there is a reversion to न in certain words (दर्शन, धर्म, मन, भान, मर्न &c.; see the *utāhṛta* on this principle treated below).

In fact, the whole history of the growth of Gujarati through the Prakṛits will show that while some phonetic features pass through certain changes, the very ones pass unaffected into Gujarātī. And finally, it is inconceivable why the grammarians should note the change of the Sanskrit द-भृ into भृ-भृ in Prakṛit in specific *śloka*s if such changes did not take place in actual speech. The reasons given by me above, especially the facility involved in the विसृज् process, seem to me stronger in support of the view that भृ and भृ existed in speech at one time.

There is a small indication in Prākṛit grammar which will support my view: the exclamatory word अयि (Skr.) is alternatively ऐ and अयि in Prākṛit (*Si. Ho. VIII—1—169*). This will conclusively show that the अयि represented actually spoken sounds and was not a mere fashionable writing for ऐ. If it had been otherwise there was absolutely no object in Hanaschandra giving ऐ and अयि as alternative Prākṛit forms of अयि (Skr.) making a special note for this single exception in the whole language,—for Prākṛit has no ऐ (nor अयि). Besides, as I have already pointed out, the detached vowels are easier to pronounce than the diphthongs: this ease impelled the speakers of Prākṛit to use in actual speech अयि and अयि. This tendency is even now visible amongst press-compositors and printers under Parsi influence, for I see them print मयय etc. although I have given them मयि etc. in the copy.

સંપ્રદાય વિચિત્રતા માનવીની રીતે જરૂર છે. પણ રાજને માન્ય થવું હોય, ત્યારે તે
 રીતે જોઈને તે તેનાં વૃદ્ધિમાન અંગને પણ જુલાઈ છે. તે સંપ્રદાયોનાં મે-મોના
 દુર ઉદાર જગત્પ્રાવાસી માણે છે.”

(F. 2. 7. 2, 10; F. 6)

The Commission has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of the 10th inst. from the Hon. Mr. K. H. P. and to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I may add one more piece of evidence:—

A work called *Némundha-sāga* written by Dhanadevagaṇi in V. S. 1502 has at its conclusion the following stanza:—

સામી કેવલ કામિની કરિ ધરી રાજીમતી નાદરી
સા સારી નિજકાજ રાજકુમરી સુગતિદ ગદ્ધ સાવરી ।
જે રેવદ્ગિરિરાય કપરિ ગમદ્ શ્રીનેમિપાયે નમદ્
તે પામદ્ સ્વસિદ્ધિ રિદ્ધિ રમદ્ શ્રી શાશ્વતી ભોગવદ્ ॥

Here metrical rules would require *ને* for *ગદ્*, *રેવે* for *રેવદ્*, *ગમે* for *ગમદ્*, *નમે* for *નમદ્*, *પાયે* for *પામદ્*, *રમે* for *રમદ્* and *ભોગવે* for *ભોગવદ્*, and yet the author has stuck to the *અદ્*. This would show an adherence to the actual speech rather than to classical usage, especially as in l. 2 the word *સુગતિદ* is preserved with *ગ* and *તિ* in defiance of metrical rules, and it is obviously a reflexion of a spoken word. I admit the forms in this stanza contain an *અદ્* derived from *અતિ* &c. and not the evolnte of the diphthong *એ* (as in *વદ્* from *વૈર* (Skr)). All the same, the argument is this: If *અદ્* as a result of some original ex'isted in one case, then there is no reason why it should not have existed in the other case, i. e. as an evolnte of *એ*.

Finally, I may point out that by tracing this *વિવૃત્ત* sound of

The theory advocated in this lecture combines phonological truth with brevity (વોજલાઘવ).

ए and *ओ* to *अय* and *अव*, instead of spreading it over *अइ* and *अय* and *अउ* and *अव*, the principle of *વોજલાઘવ* discussed by me in Lecture III is secured. This is no small gain; of course consistency with phonological truth

is a primary condition, and it is fulfilled here.

A few instances may now be noted where the *અદ્* and *અउ*,

Instances wherein અદ્ and અउ do not turn into wide ઍ and ઐ.

not turning into *વિવૃત્ત ઍ* and *ઐ*, become *એ* and *ઔ* in Gujarati, or remain as *અદ્* and *અउ*.

Examples.—

એ or *અદ્*.

Skr.

हृदयकं

Pr. or Apabhr.

ह्रिअउं

ह्रिअउं ह्रदं

Guj.

હેયું or

હદયું

| | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| धैर | (direct: not through Prākṛit) | धैर or धािर |
| धनरं | नद(रं) | नरं or नरुं |
| औ or अउ. | | |
| धनुंन | धनरं | नौर or धनर |
| नरं | नरुं | नौ |
| नर-नर | | |

It would be interesting to look for the cause or causes which in these cases prevent the भू and भव from resulting in the विदुष भू and भव. We have not time enough, but you will now be able to see that the factor of accent will be found in almost all cases to be the determining cause. Where it cannot be seen working, some other cause will surely be found to exist; thus in नौ it seems an unconscious desire to distinguish this word from नरि (=a hundred) prevailed and came in the way of the विदुष भू resulting.

Illustrations of apparently abnormal cases of (1) Accent.

There are other apparently abnormal cases of विदुष sound which may be noted here—

| Pr.—Skrt. | Pr. or Apabh. | Guj. |
|-----------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| विदुषि. | विदुषी | विदुष |
| विदुषतः | विदुषत-विदुष-त | विदुष |
| वरिः | वरि | वरिष |
| | (=varit.—the meaning changed) | |
| वरी | वरी | वरिष |
| वरिष. | वरिष | वरिष |
| | | (=a stream, a string) |
| वरिष | वरिष | वरिष |
| | | (=a stream, a string of a rock's etc) |
| विदुषत. | वरिष | वरिष |
| वरिषत. | वरिषो | वरिष |
| वरिष | | वरिष |

अर्—

| | | |
|----------|-------------------|---------|
| प्रहर | पहर पहर | पहरि |
| नहर | नहर नहर | नहरि |
| महार्घकं | महर्घउं म्हअर्घउं | मार्धुं |
| शते | सअं | सर् |

(=a hundred)

(It is सर् in वसं, वणसं etc.; and also सर्, वसर्, वणसर्, etc.).

| | | |
|-------------|---------------------|----------|
| सुखं | सुहं | म्हर् |
| सुखकं | सुहउं म्हअउं म्हउउं | म्हर्हुं |
| गुरुः | गुरु | गर् |
| गुहः | गुह | गर्ह |
| उपा | (direct) | अर्खा |
| सचिः | सई | सर्प |
| | (deśya) कोइलउ | कर्पलो |
| | „ ओसरिआ | अर्शरी |
| कोविला | कोइला | कर्पल |
| उदवः | उदवु | अर्धव |
| मृत्युः | मृतु | मर्त |
| प्राधूर्णकः | प्राहुणउ | पहरणो |
| स्वर्घकं | सुर्घउं | सर्धुं |
| कुदाटकः | कुदाउउ | कर्दाळो |

(deśya) ओकिअउं अर्किपुं (=omitted)

An examination of these cases will generally give some

The abnormal wide sound accounted for the wide sound. Thus:—विहर्षी (विहर्षी), सीअंतउ, सुहं (म्हअं) and सुहउं (म्हअउं), after attaining these stages under the operation

of another *utsarga vir*: the shifting of the ह to the beginning syllable (except, of course, in the case of सीअंतउ where there is no ह), pass through a metathesis (व्यत्यय) of the vowels composing the स्वरयुग्मा-इअ or ईअ and उअ, and the vocalic groups अइ and अउ result, which are the precedent forms of अय् and अय् giving

Coming to the second part (B) of the enunciation of the *utearga* about the *विवृत* अ and आ, viz: the

The अर्धविवृत sound distinguished from the विवृत. अर्धविवृत sonod in the case of final अइ and अउ, the distinction which I make in calling the sound अर्धविवृत may be briefly explained.

In the case of medial अइ-अउ, the resulting sound (अ-आ) is distinctly and fully wide because of its prominent position, i. e., the middle of the word, which position is naturally the topmost place of audibility; whereas in the case of the final अइ-अउ the resulting ए-ओ, being at the end of the verbal cadence of audibility, are naturally less wide than the medial विवृत sound.

Instances of the अर्धविवृत sound. Instances of this अर्धविवृत sonod are plentiful in Gujarātī:—

| Pr. or Apabhr. (including later Apabhr.) | Guj. |
|---|-----------|
| छइ | छ |
| करइ | कर |
| अनइ | अन (=and) |
| तउ | त |
| करउ | कर |
| घोइउ | घो |

In short, the final ए is the present tense 3rd personal singular form of verbs and the final ओ of the nominative singular masculine of words ending in ओ (nouns and adjectives) and that of the imperative 3rd person singular of verbs, all possess the अर्धविवृत sound, in addition to other words and forms.

We may now consider the notice taken, if any, of this wide अ and आ by other workers in the field of Gujarātī phonology. So far as I can ascertain, Vrajlal Śāstri does not appear to have noticed this sound, much less analyzed it.

This is with reference to his published works. But in a private letter to me, dated V. S. 1942 Bhādrapada (1) Vrajlal Śāstri

ends 15th, in answer to an inquiry by me on

the point, he acknowledges this sound, calls it a purely *વેચ્ય* sound (instead of *વેટાવચ્ય* and *વેટીવચ્ય* respectively), cites instances, says that neither *Prakrit* nor old *Gujarati* grammars treat of the cause of this sound, and recommends the inverted *માગ* to distinguish this wide sound in *Gujarati* on the analogy of an old copy of *Prathur Iya Nilanu* which a *Marathi* scholar showed him once. I give an extract from his letter:—

“૭. આ અક્ષર વેટમાત્રુચ્ચાન છે. પણ ગર્જન માયામાં વેટાવચ માટીમાં વેચ્ય વેચ્ય ચોમાય છે. તેમજ બી ખખરનું વેટીવચ્ચાન છે પણ ગર્જન માયામાં વેટાવચ માટીમાં વેચ્ય વેચ્ય ચોમાય છે. હજારણ ન ગર્જ, અર્ગરો (આ ચોમામામાં જાગ્યાયું નાનું માટ ખાય છે) તેટ-ગર્જ નેર; નર (જા માટ છે) નરિર=નરુર=નર, રેર=રેર, પ્રર, તેમજ રોરી, જોરી, વોમર, જાંચ, રાંચ, રાંદ, રોટ, રાંડ, વાંડ (વચ્ચાતનું માટ), રાંડ, રાંડ, અંચામંદર, અંચદ (જા માગણ છે). વેચ્ય વેચ્યનું વિદેવ અર્ગી માયા ટમાય તેનું જાણ પ્રાચીન ગર્જન દ્યારણમાં મળી તેમ પ્રાચીનમાં પણ મળી. જક. વર્ણાંચો માયારી ખાટ મળ્યો હતો તેની પામે માયારી ખાવાયટો વૃષ્ટીરાતનો રામે હતો તેમાં આ પ્રમાણે લખેલું હતું. મરદંદરા મરયાળરાં હાંવ નિત ગુદ હમેગ, વર્ણાંચે તે ખાટને વૃષ્ટનું સ્વારે તેને વદ્યું કે અવારં એટલો ગુજર. છે તેમાં વ રાને અં અને બી અને અં પણ જવાર વેટાવ છે સ્વારે અવટી માયા ટમાય છે. હવે આપને પણ વત રીતિ જાગરી વૃં માં મળ છે.”

The chief and incidental analysis of the sound here indicated by the *Sāstī* is only partially true: in that really the *વેટમાત્ર* is due to the *અ* of *અવ* and *અવ*, while it omits the equally essential cause of the *વ* and *વ* contrasting to the wide sound. In tracing *વર* through *ગર* the *Sāstī* has come to the right track, but not perceived the whole course.

Navalarām Lakṣmīrām recognized the wide sound but did not attempt any inquiry into the why and whence

(3) Navalarām

of the ³⁰ sound Mr Keshavalal H Dhruva

in his valuable paper entitled *Yagyapara* (read before the First

Gujarati Sahitya Parishad) has dealt with

(4) M. K. H
Dhruva

this sound and advanced his theory as to the genesis of the sound I must give it here

briefly and review it

He divides the instances of this sound into two classes—(1)

स्वत सिद्ध, i. e. original, and (2) साधित, i. e.

His theory as to
the genesis of the
wide sound

derived come through phonetic change He

holds that words that have come from foreign languages, e. g. गर and the like have a स्वत

सिद्ध wide sound while words like बर, चारि &c. contain a साधित

विवृत sound As regards the latter class he attributes the wide sound to the following causes —

- (1) Sometimes it happens in consequence of the loss of one member of a conjunct, the loss of quantity is compensated for by widening the vowel, e. g. पट्टो, -पट्टो, बट्टि-बट्टि, चतुष्क-चतुष्क-चारि,
- (2) Sometimes the infusion of a weak anustara widens the vowel sound, e. g. परे, खरे, वगण, पाँच, चारि,
- (3) Sometimes a following nasal consonant helps in producing the wide vowel sound, e. g. नन, फफ, दर्न, माप, दर्जि, रनि, etc.
- (4) Sometimes, none of these causes exist, but a wide sound is given in order to distinguish one word from another of the same shape but having a सवृत sound, and having a different meaning, e. g. परे=with the hand करि=does, makes, गोळ=round गाळ=molasses, मोर=peacock, मारि=mango-flower, पोटी=a big earthen jar, बरि=the wood apple tree, etc

He gives this process the name of *विष्मयिषान्* (*Pyryipān* P. 8 and P. 10).

Now, let us examine these views. At the outset I may

Mr Dhruva's theory ventures a general observation: Mr. Keshava's analysis treats this widening of the vowels, and of the vowels, as if it were an erratic phenomenon existing in a haphazard manner.

attributable to varying and apparently final causes in a willful manner. In short it is wanting in *वैयर्थ्य* and so far unscientific. The analysis submitted by me reduces all possible cases to one common root principle, viz: the *अ* and *अ* formation,—the cases including even words of foreign origin. His theory is, besides, obviously untrue to phonetic evolution.

I may now deal with Mr. Keshava's views piecemeal —

As regards what he calls *गण गिह* *विष्म* sound in words of foreign origin, e. g. *गव*, the fact is that the word is not *गव*, but *गव* (*gab* or *gayb*) in Arabic and Persian, the sound precedent to our Gujarati *विष्म* sound. Thus this statement about an original wide sound is incorrect in fact.

Now, take the four classes of *मायि* *विष्म* sound as given by him:—

- (1) The cause assigned in this class of cases is incorrect. The loss of one of the members of a conjunct would compensate itself by lengthening the preceding vowel, the widening of the *ए* or *ओ* would furnish no real compensation, for *ए* gives five *माय* whereas *ओ* has four. Again, *ए* may furnish a case of loss of one of the members of a conjunct. But how would you account for the wide *ए* in *ए* (*ए*)? There is no loss here for the theory about a conjunct, its simplification and resulting compensation of quantity. Nor does *ओ* fall under any of Mr. Keshava's other three groups. So also *ए* (which is really *ए*) has four *माय*, and *ए* has three, whereas *ए* has five and *ए* four. Thus, the compensation for loss of quantity is a direct

- (2) The wide sound here also is wrongly attributed to the weak *anustara*. In the first place, it is difficult to conceive why a weak *anustara* should be the cause of such an effect. The co-existence of the wide sound and the weak *anustara* is no doubt there; it may be difficult to find a combination of सवृत्त ए-ओ and a weak *anustara*. But in the case of at least three of the five instances cited by Mr. Kesharalal, the wide sound is traceable to the cause I have pointed out. Thus वर्गण is from ³¹वर्गण (*deśya*) पॉरि is from पट्टर (Pr) from Skr. पृथुक (पट्टर may be *deśya* or Prakrit ³²). पट्टर-पट्टर-पट्टर are the further potential stages, and चॉरि is from Skr. चमत् Pr. चमक, -चौर, [समर्पयति-समर्पेद्-सर्वपद्-सापे may be compared with advantage]. Thus, the अय् and अय factors are secured here also.

- (3) The cause here assigned is on the face of it untrue and fanciful. The wide sound is obviously the result of the अय् or अय् factor in र्ण and र्णी (from दोदनी, split up into दूदणी), र्म (if र्मीण is meant by it) is from Persian रूम (in India pronounced र्म), and र्नि (if the corruption of "round" is meant by it) has the अय sound in its source word, 'round'. र्नि also is evolved from दहन through the steps, दूदण-दूदण-दयन, if it is the word used (mostly in Kothuvada) for the cremation of a dead body. In the sense of मकदूर, courage during the word is hardly of *delta* usage at any rate its derivation is not known to

31. Vide *Deśi nama malā*, VI, 100 where the meaning of भट्ट is given in the verse as वर्गण and in gloss as दूदरम्. At VII, 29 वर्ग is explained as वर्गण in the verse and as दूदक in the gloss.

32. See *Deśi nama malā*, VI, 44.

me; unless the guess be permitted that it may mean दहनमहि, प्रदाय (पुनर्र), and hence, daring. As for वम (वम, वम, वम, may also be included), the wide sound is apparently abnormal but certainly not due to the nasal; for instance, in the list of words पुह &c. the व takes the विवृत अ form without the enabling cause of a nasal, and I have already denoted the possible genesis of the wide sound, which fits in better with the common principle. The tendency with villagers to sound गम, वम, वम, वम &c. as गमि, वमि, वमि, वमि may at first sight be attributed to the nasal, and perhaps so far it may be accepted as a partially contributory cause. But it is the अ that is so changed not ए or ओ, and thence this is quite a distinct phonetic action limited in its scope and unconnected with the main central principle.

This is certainly erroneous. I have already shown the genesis of the wide sound in मरि, वरि, गरि. As regards वर (ver) it is clearly from वर and the अ gives the wide sound. Besides, to imagine the object of distinguishing वरि from वरि in this way is rather highly far fetched. We may ask, वरि and वरि may be alike and calling for some distinguishing feature but how will you arrange about वरि वरि, वरि, and the host of 3rd personal singular forms in the present tense of verbs? Again वरि may be mixed up with वरि, but what about वरि which is the original word? There is no word with which that can be confounded.

It will thus be seen that this sort of analysis is cumbrous as well as unfaithful to the true phonetic history of the words concerned. It will also be noted that this analysis of Mr. Keshavlal's is worked out from a limited number of notes, several of which are also found as fragments in the very large number of cases which

fall under the common principle expounded in my analysis of the wide sound. He leaves unaccounted for words of the type of *वर, व्हरो, वसतु, माह* etc. And the name *वितृप्तविधान*, attractive as it is, has the disadvantage of seeming to denote and connote, as it were, one single uncomplex process, whereas in fact it is but a final step in a series of processes, viz *अ-अउ, अय-अव; अय-अउ; अय-अउ;* and then *अ-अ*. The name is thus the result of an incorrect analysis of a complex process, the complexity of which is unravelled by going to a simple central principle securing *बीजलापन*.

So much about writers in Gujarati on Gujarati phonology.

As regards others, the only writers I have come across as having made some mention, direct or indirect, of this wide sound, are Sir George Grierson, Mr. Beamta, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar and Dr. Tcevitoni. Sir George Grierson has touched the subject only skin-deep, and has not entered into the phono-genesis of the wide *अ* and *आ*. In the superficial mention even, he has lapsed into some errors which I have already pointed out elsewhere,³³ but which it would be well to indicate again in this place. He designates the *वितृप्त अ* as *short* and the *वितृप्त आ* as *broad*. He says — "Gujarati has a short *e* as well as a long *e*." It "has no short *o*, but, on the other hand, in some words *o* is pronounced broadly, like the *u* in *all*."³⁴

It seems there is some confusion here; both *e* and *o* are either *broad* and *narrow*, or *short* and *long*. In the list³⁵ of words containing the broad sound given by him under *short e* he gives *बसतु* (*bhasawū*=to sit), *घन* (*ghen*=drowsiness) and the like, which contain the wide *अ*, and under *broad o* he gives *चतु* (*ch'thū*=fourth), *कुकुर* (*kū-kū*=a cuckoo), and the like which contain the wide *आ*. Why then, he calls the one *short* and the other *broad*. I am unable to comprehend. (Sir George's symbol for the broad sound like that in 'all' is he tells us, *a*, a circumflex over the *o*).

33. *The Indian Antiquary*, XLIV, 17a or 19a. (January 1916)

34. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part II, P. 323

Ibid., Pp. 844 ff.

Some errors of a minor nature have also crept in in these lists - e. g., *Ve (vā)* i. e. *वे* (=a hole) is given as having a short *o*; but it is never sounded *viya*; so also *ḍ* (*ḍoḍ*=a drum) is given as having a *front o*, when in fact the *o* is not *viya*.

Mr. Beames touches this subject in his Vol I, pp. 137, ff. But it is clear that he *misses the essence* of the question, and, consequently treats of the change of *अ* to *उ* and *अप* to *उ*, and *अ* to *ओ* and *अः* to *ओ*, and *अ* to *ऐ*, and that too in a superficial manner, falling into strange errors, as when he derives *पेय* (the name of a particular town) from *पयन* (Vol I-107), instead of from *प्रतिपान*, a well known name in Sanskrit literature and other records. This is because he imagines the *अ* of *प* is changed to *उ*, and does not see the whole evolution through the steps, *पयान*-*पयन*-*पयन* (G.) and *पेयन* (M.), and similarly when (at the same page) he derives M. *बेयन*, from Sanskrit *वयन*, "sitting"—when we know in the light of our inquiry that it is from *वपरिम्*, *वपरम्*, *वपर*, *बेय*, and that *वपर* is hardly a correct Sanskrit root meaning sitting.³⁴ (His derivation of *बेयन* from *पयन* is similarly erroneous)

At pp. 137-139 Mr. Beames deals with his imaginary change of *अ* to *उ*, his instances being (*वदन्*) *वद-वदन्*; (*गदन्*) *गद-गदन्*; (*वचन्*) *वच-वचन्* etc. He further thinks that in Gujarati "a preceding *h* is replaced by *e* and a second *e* is even inserted after

the *h* especially in cases where in Sanskrit an *i* stood in that place" (P 138) and his instances are —

| | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| लेहेर from लहरी | वेहेरो from बधिर |
| वेहेन from भगिनी | पेहल्ल from प्रथम ³⁷ |

[Why should पेहल्ल be written differently from the rest, and an ए not given to its द also? Really, it is difficult to guess the reason]

He further sees the process at work in words borrowed from Arabic and Persian e g जेहेर, वेहेर, तेहेसील, रेहम, देहशत

He goes even a step further and sees the change of अ to ए in Marāṭhī घेणे (=to take), when we know that the ए in Marāṭhī is not वितृत like that in Gujarātī

At P 140 Mr Beames says that अय some times contracts into ए Instances given are—नयन-नेन, समय-समे etc, and at pp 143-144 he speaks of अय changing into ओ as in लवण-लौग (H) &c At P 187 again he starts the rule that homogeneous vowels coalesce with the corresponding गुण or वृद्धि vowel, and cites the instance of भगिनी, भङ्गी (Pr) भैन (H)

All this confusion and error result from the fact that Mr. Beames did not slight upon the true analysis I have presented in this discussion The consequence is that his treatment of this subject ignores the वितृत sound, and he divides his instances under several disjointed heads (See Vol I Pp 187, 167, 143-4, 140, 187-189) owing no allegiance to a common central principle which really exists but is not perceived by him

Only in one case has Mr Beames accidentally noticed the *widish* sound It is in the old Hindi sound of the *o* ending of words, which, he admits, sounds like *au* But he minimizes the value of this recognition by at once stating that there is no distinction between the Old Hindi *o* (which he distinctly says is *broad*) and the *o* sound of the ordinary Hindi.

37 I can very well realize Mr Beames' difficulties handicapped and misled as he was by the erroneous and unsettled system of spelling in vogue in Gujarātī during his days, and in older Gujarātī manuscripts

He says it is merely a matter of manuscript, some using the one and some the other form (See I & Vol II P 5). How this could be a matter of manuscript is difficult to understand. The fact is that the old sound *औ* was wideish the precursor of the fully wide sound of Gujarati while the narrow *o* remained in the ending of nouns actually taking that ending instead of *औ*. The state of things is this. In Hindi medial *औ* remained an *औ* and was wideish but less wide than the Gujarati *ઊ* while the final *औ* (except perhaps in the Braj district of it) dwindled into a pure *o* and became less wide than the अपठित of Gujarati or perhaps entirely narrow.

Dr Bhandarkar deals with this question with his usual ability and learning at two or three places in his Wilson-
(7) Dr Bhandarkar's *Philological Lectures*. At Pp 142-143 he discusses the restoration to some of the present day vernaculars of the Sanskrit diphthongs *ऐ* and *औ* which the Prakrits and Pali had lost. This is by turning the *अ* and *अव* back into *ऐ* and *औ* in Hindi Panjabi and in some cases in Marathi. He cites, amongst several instances—

| Skr | Pr | |
|-------|-----|------------|
| महि | मयु | ॥ ० ६ ॥ ऐम |
| महिम् | मयम | ॥ ॥ ऐम-म |
| महि | मयु | ॥ ॥ ऐम |
| महि | मय | ॥ ॥ ॥ मर |
| महि | मय | ॥ ॥ ॥ मर |
| मयु | मय | ॥ ॥ ॥ मर |
| मयु | मय | ॥ ॥ ॥ मर |

At Pp 145-146 he treats the change of *अव* and *अव* to *ऐ* and *औ* and cites instances like

| Skr | Pr | ॥ or ॥ ॥ ॥ |
|-----|--------|------------|
| मय | मयम मय | मर |
| मय | मयम मय | मर |
| मय | मयम मय | मर-मर (१) |
| मय | मयम मय | मर |

Finally at Pp. 146-147 he discusses the sound in Gujarātī and compares it with the sound in Hindi:—

| H. | G. | H. | G. | H. | G. |
|-------|-----------|------|------|------|------|
| पैठा | पेठो | बैठो | बेठो | बैल | बेल |
| बैसना | बैसथुं | रौर | रोर | | |
| चौधा | चोधो | चौरु | चोरु | धौला | धोळो |
| कौडी | कोडी etc. | | | | |

He also observes that Gujarātī has ए and ओ even in words of foreign origin where the other languages have ऐ and औ and cites

| H. | G. | H. | G. |
|------|-------|-------|-------|
| पैदा | पेदा | मैदान | मेदान |
| दौलत | दोल्त | फौज | फोज |

Finally, I quote the following remarks of his in full:—

"Similarly, though a few Sanskrit words containing ऐ and औ do occur in Gujarātī dictionaries, these diphthongs are generally pronounced like ए and ओ, as in जैन for जैन "a follower of the Jain sect," वैर for वैर "enmity" &c. The Gujarātī, therefore, like the Old Prākṛit combines अय and अव and अइ and अउ into ए and ओ, and since it did not receive the diphthongs ऐ and औ from the old Prākṛits, its alphabet really does not contain them. As observed before, the syllables अइ and अउ differ from ऐ and औ only in two currents of breath being emitted instead of one, in other respects they are alike, both the vowel sounds being contained in the diphthongs. Those syllables as well as अय and अव should, therefore, naturally pass into these diphthongs as involving the least possible change. If, notwithstanding, the Gujarātī people make ए or ओ out of them and also give those forms to the ऐ and औ of Sanskrit and foreign words, it must be so, because their vocal organs are in this respect in the same condition as those of their Pāli and Prākṛit ancestors. On the other hand, the Hindi, and especially the Braj form of it, present the old tendency of pronouncing the diphthongs in a somewhat exaggerated form, while the other dialects take up a position between these two in this respect." (Pp. 146-147).

Now, if you have followed me in my lengthy analysis of this whole question, you will at once see where I differ from my respected master. The points of difference may be brought out by a clear enunciation as under —

(First) Dr. Bhindarkar has not noticed clearly the wide nature of the Gujarati *अ* and *आ* in three cases; he simply calls them *अ* and *आ*

(2ndly) He speaks as if Gujarati turned the Sanskrit *ऐ* and *औ* direct into *ए* and *ओ* as also the foreign sounds *ऐ* and *औ* (as he represents them); but the fact is that these sounds come through the *अइ-अउ*, *अए-अउ* and *अए-अउ* stages before they reach the Gujarati sound,²² as regards the foreign words the sounds therein are *ऐ*, *औ* and *औ* but *अइ* and *अउ*.

(3rdly) What he calls, in the case of the Hindi (and especially the Braj) mode of pronunciation, an *exaggerated* form, really contains the element of *सिद्ध* sound which is manifested fully in Gujarati, he has, in a way, correctly noticed that the Marathi²³ sound (*पुन-पुन*) takes up a position midway between what he calls the exaggerated Hindi sound and the Gujarati sound (I say "in a way" because I interpret the *ए* and *ओ* in Gujarati are believed by him to be the narrow sounds which they really are not). But, not fully and clearly recognising the *सिद्ध* sound of Gujarati, he has stopped short and not noticed what I have pointed out in this discussion that the

Marāṭhī sound leans emphatically on the इ and उ (in the vocalic groups अइ-अउ), the Hindi on the अ, while the Gujarāṭī sound widens the resulting ए and ओ.⁴⁰

With due deference, therefore, I submit that it is not a correct diagnosis to say that the Gujarātī peoples' vocal organs are in the same condition as those of their Pali and Prākṛit ancestors in this respect. For the nature of the ए and ओ into which the people speaking Pali and Prākṛit turned the Sanskrit ए and ओ was essentially different from the विवृत अ and अर्⁴¹ sound

40. It is interesting to compare the state of the component vowels of ऐ and औ and that of the compounds of ए and ओ, into which stage the former (i.e. ऐ and औ) eventually pass in their passage from Sanskrit into Gujarāṭī. Although ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are संधित्व (as distinguished from the समान or simple स्वर, अ to इ) the four संधित्व can be further distinguished amongst themselves. I would call ए and औ by the name of संकीर्ण संधित्व and ऐ and औ by the name of समुष्ट संधित्व. For the अ and इ and अ and उ, respectively in ए and ओ are in a state of सकर (fusion), while in ऐ and औ they are in a state of समुष्टि (mere mixture). The course through which the change of ऐ and औ of Sanskrit words runs in attaining the Gujarāṭī विवृत अ and अर् forms is as under —

- (1) First, समुष्टि as in ऐ and औ (देर-गौरी),
- (2) Then, विवृत as in अइ and अउ (वर-गउरी),
- (3) Then, प्रतिसम्प्राण as in अय and अव (वदर-गवरी),
- (4) then, सकर as in अर् and अर् (वर-गवरी).

(I shall explain in a subsequent discussion in the text of this Lecture how the 4th stage can be arrived at although there are ए and उ and not इ and उ in the 3rd stage.)

41. The wide sound (resembling the विवृत अर्) which Bangālī, in its spoken form, gives to a non-final अ is to be distinguished from this Pali and Prākṛit short *a*. This Bangālī *a* resembles the विवृत अर् more than the short *a* of Pali and Prākṛit, and yet it is not the विवृत अर् of Gujarāṭī, which is full in its length, while the Bangālī sound is shorter. Briefly, the Bangālī sound resembles the Pali sound in shortness but differs from it in account of its wide nature, while it (the Bangālī sound) resembles the Gujarāṭī sound in its wide nature but

of Gujarātī. Dr. Bhindārkar has felt this sound in Gujarātī, but not only has he not proceeded to analyze it and go behind it to discover what I have shown in the foregoing discussion, but his feeling of the sound has been, to some extent, misdirected, and, at any rate, it has not found full expression. I am quite sure that if he had pursued the inquiry further, or, rather, if the real Gujarātī sound had come within his constant experience, and then if he had given a fuller expression to his feeling of that sound,

it differs from it on account of its shortness. It combines the softness of the Pāli sound and the wide nature of the Gujarātī sound, and thus differs from both.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhindārkar has incidentally noticed this Pargālī sound at pp. 149-150 of his *Wilson Philological Lectures* and Mr. Beames also has some remarks on it in his Vol. I, p. 67.

(Pargālī has a similarly short but wide *ṛ* as in *ṛṇa*, *ṛṇa*. The remarks about the Pargālī short but wide *ṛ* apply *mutatis mutandis* to this *ṛ* sound).

Kanarese possesses a short *ṛ* and a short *ṛi* as distinguished from long *ṛ* and long *ṛi*. These short *ṛ* and *ṛi* resemble the similar Pargālī sound to a very great extent, i. e. with shortness they combine some thing of the wide nature also, though grammarians roughly liken the *ṛ* to the *e* in 'met,' they rightly liken the short *ṛi* to the *ai* in 'i'. The following instances may be noted briefly —

| Short | | Long | |
|-------|------------------|------|----------------|
| ಕುಳ | (कुल) =cock | ಉಪ | (उप) =Upon |
| ಕುಳ | (कुल) =some | ಉಪ | (उप) =separate |
| ಕುಳ | (कुल) =same | ಉಪ | (उप) =to go |
| ಕುಳ | (कुल) =to give | ಉಪ | (उप) =to see |
| ಕುಳ | (कुल) =beginning | | |

their omitting to provide a separate character for this sound, as the Drāvidians have done," he evidently forgets that in the Drāvidian languages this sound is more extensively prevalent than in the Prākṛits and also that, while the Drāvidian sound is widish, the Pāli and Prākṛit short sound is not so. This, by the way. Mr. Beames deals with the short ए only and is quite silent about the short ओ, so far as I can see. He does notice the Bangālī sound ॐ for the अ (Pp. 68-69), but that is quite a different matter, and even there he does not notice the widish note in the utterance. However, at P. 67 he does notice the widish Bangālī sound of अ as a 'short' o, likens it to the sound of o in 'not,' and instances अनठ pronounced as *onol*.

In an article, headed "Mr. Rabindrenāth Tagore's Notes on Bengālī Grammar," in the J. R. A. S., 1913 A.D., pp. 583 ff, Mr. J. D. Anderson deals with this sound of अ in Bangālī. Referring to Mr. Beames' view that अनठ is sounded as *ōnōt*, फथन as *l̥thōn*, and that in some words the sound is softer and longer than the o of *not*, e. g. in वन the o is sounded almost like the o in *bone*, and then stating Mr. Rabindranāth Tagore's definite rule for this softer sound, Mr. Anderson states his own views thus:—

"To my ear," says he, "the sound of the o in "hot" is not merely the abbreviation of the o in "rove." I think we get the short sound of ॐ in "imposition" and the long ॐ in *impōse*." I think the o in "hot" is the abbreviation of the *aw* in "brandy-pawnee." *Bōn*, *m̃n*, and *l̥hōn* (बन, मन, खन) should really have the short o of "imposition" and not the long ॐ of "*impōse*." The vowels in *tonōy* (तनय) and *bōn* (वन) are both short, but they represent, I think, different sounds."

He adds a footnote as under:—

"At all events in what follows I write ॐ to represent the vowel in "hot," o for the o in "imposition" and ॐ for the o in "rove."

It is outside the purpose of our inquiry to go into these details and I leave them with a bare mention of the different views.

Mr. Beames notices (P. 142 n.) the colloquial usage in Bangālī which gives वित्त sound to the ए in words like दिटेम् (for दिटाम्) &c.

and likened it to the sound of *a* in English words like *mat*, *rat* &c. But I doubt if he has noticed the short but wideish sound of *ए* in Bangālī words like ऐगन, ऐगार—I think it is shorter than the *ए* in हिन्दू-ऐगन ऐगार भाउ बरिया देगिया नू! पीरे, रजनी, पीरे!" ("Rajni" by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, Khanda IV, Chapter 5).

[However, I find from a reference to Mr. Beames' views in the article by Mr. J. A. Anderson referred to just above that Mr. Beames has elsewhere noticed the short *e*. The article referred to states—

"Mr. Beames writes that—'e' is properly the long *a* in English 'lane,' 'male,' or the *ey* in 'they' In a few words of very frequent occurrence it has a short harsh sound like the *a* in English 'back,' thus *el*, *dell* (ऐल, ऐल), soooed something like *ae*, *dæ*."]

Mr. Beames has given a correct view of the result of the short *ए* in words like ऐगन &c. viz. the preservation of quantity. He says—

"As Prakṛit is always very careful to preserve the quantity of Sanskrit words, it is apparent that the common people who spoke Prakṛit, having come to regard *e* as a short sound felt it necessary to double the following consonant in order to preserve the quantity, the vowel which in Sanskrit was long by nature becoming thus long by position." (Vol. I, P. 141).

As to why these people came to regard the *ए* as a short sound, we must go to Dr. Phindark's account of the tendency of the original speakers of Pālī to add *k* to their old *e* for a harsh short sound, which we have already noticed above. This tendency infected the speakers of other Prakṛits also though to a limited extent.

Lastly, I come to the new taken of the wide sound of *e* and *o* (ई-औ) in Gujarati by as a lot of examples. I mean Dr. L. P. Tote's test of *Idān*, Italy who is at present carrying on his researches into the Marathi and Gujarati languages by studying the questions on the spot.

as he is staying in Bikānēr and conducting a survey of Bārdic Literature there. His notice of this sound seems to have passed through two stages, (1) the stage of vague perception, and (2) the stage of clear illumination. During the first stage he observed in his Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī:—

"In Modern Gujarātī *nī* is contracted to *ē* and *aī* to *ō* and in Modern Mārwarī *ai* to *ai* and *aū* to *au*." (Ind. Antiq. XLIII, 13, February 1914).

[It may be noted once for all that—

aī-aū represent अइ-अऊ

ē-ō represent ए-ओ (both narrow)

ai-au represent ऐ-औ

and *ê-ô* represent ई-औ (both wide)

These symbols should be borne in mind all along].

Dr. Tessitori arrived at this view when he was in Italy, had never been in India, and had not heard the sounds pronounced. With the frankness and honesty of purpose and attitude that characterize Dr. Tessitori's scholarly investigations, he has made a clear avowal of his mistake at a later stage, when, after arriving in India and observing facts on the spot he saw the truer aspect; he says:—

"Before proceeding, I must correct a mistake into which I have incurred in my 'Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī, with special reference to Apsbhraṇṣ and to Gujarātī and Mārwarī.' I am hardly responsible for it, as when I wrote the 'Notes,' I had never been in India and for all information concerning pronunciation in Gujarātī and Mārwarī, had completely to rely on the accounts given by others, which I afterwards found to be incorrect. In the first Chapter of the aforesaid 'Notes,' I had stated that the *aī* and *aū* of Old Western Rājasthānī become *ē*, *ō* in Modern Gujarātī and *ai*, *au* in Modern Mārwarī. This is inaccurate. In both Modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī, the *aī*, *aū* of Old Western Rājasthānī become *ê* and *ô*."

(Dardic and Historical Survey of Rājputānā, Appendix—J. A. S. Beng., N. S. XII, P. 74.)

This marks the second stage, the stage of clear illumination, in Dr. Tessitori's view of this question. He fully agrees with me here as to the firm nature of the sound, at least in its main features, for in his minute appreciation and perception of it he differs, though only slightly, from me. He says:—

"What I mean by *ḍ* and *ḍ* is a wide sound of the *e* and *o* vowels approximately, not exactly, corresponding to the wide sound of *a* in the English word "bat," and *o* in "odd." The difference is mainly in the quantity, the Māravāṇī vowels *ḍ* and *ḍ* being more prolonged in pronunciation than the corresponding vowels in the two English words quoted above."

(Ibid. P. 74)

The only difference between him and me is that I regard the wide sound in Gujarātī and Māravāṇī as qualitatively the same as in English 'bat' and 'odd,' and in quantity also almost the same. This, however, is a very minor difference. The difference between the learned doctor and myself that still exists on a comparatively important point is as regards the genesis of this wide sound. I shall set forth his views as briefly as possible, but in proper fulness to do him justice. His views (as set forth in the Appendix to his article referred to above) are as under:—

- (I) The narrow sound of *ṛ* and *ṝ* seems to be as old as Aṣṭhramśa, while the wide sound has originated only in the interval between the Old *Āṣṭhramśa* and Modern periods. Thus the firm sound was unknown to Old *Āṣṭhramśa* Western Rājasthānī, all *ṛ* and *ṝ* vowels being narrow.
- (II) The passing of *ṛ-ṝ* into the wide *ṛ-ṝ* was effected simply through a process of contraction, i. e. through a suppression of the *ḥ* dīkṣa, and the intermediate step was that of *ṛ-ṝ* (the *d* phoneme).

Dr. Tessitori and I are at one as regards (I) for at P. 75 middle of para 1 he divides the stages which show that by Old *Āṣṭhramśa* Western Rājasthānī, i. e. as regards (II) now we are not so materially, my view being that *ṛ-ṝ* is the *ṛ-ṝ*

अव (by प्रतिसमासरण), then अय्-अय् and then, ई औ. Dr. Tessitori differs from this view and his reasons are —

- (a) (1) There are no sure instances of any अइ-अउ of the O. W. Rj having changed to अय्-अय in any stage of the language
- (2) He regards वयर, वयरागी and पयसार quoted by me from Dr Tessitori's researches as 'pretended' changes. He says with reference to them that they constitute no proof, for Old Western Rajasthani manuscripts often write य for इ, also that the अय in वयर, वयरागी (which words he calls *tatsamas* (1 e) *Prakṛita-samas* in Old Western Rajasthani) may be a corruption of Sanskrit ऐ instead of a modification of Old Western Rajasthani अइ.
- (b) अउ is changed undoubtedly to अउ in Old Western Rajasthani (e g Ap कवड़ी, Old Western Rajasthani कउड़ी Ap कवण Old Western Rajasthani कउण, Ap गरवल, Old Western Rajasthani गउल, Ap पवड, Old Western Rajasthani पउड) This being so, it is not admissible that, having reduced every अउ of Apabhraṃśa to अउ from its early stage, Old Western Rajasthani should bring back the अउ to अउ again, in its later stage
- (c) The diphthongal forms ऐ-औ (derived from अइ-अउ) are found in all the earliest manuscripts of both Gujarātī and Mararātī, when ऐ-औ began to be substituted for अइ-अउ, they (ऐ-औ) were originally pronounced as diphthongs and only afterwards reduced to long wide vowels (विस्तृत).

If अइ-अउ had passed into अय्-अय in the earliest Gujarātī Mararātī stage, Dr Tessitori says we do not understand why manuscripts, which otherwise show a tendency to write य-व for इ-उ, should only in this case make an exception and write ऐ-औ instead of अय्-अय

- (d) अय, as also अदि change into अइ e. g. मयवट (Ap.), मैगट (Mār.); वदित्त (O. W. R.).—यैर (Yār.). So also अह changes into अइ; as in मार-मार-युह-युह-यैर (Mār.).

Dr. Tessitori contends that the fact that in manuscripts there are no instances of अइ written for अय does not weaken his argument, as it can be accounted for by the remark that all words with अय in them are *late* ones and therefore they continued to be written according to traditional spelling.

The above summary will show that while I trace the *वित्त* sound thus:—

The place where he differs from the lecturer. अइ-अय } :—अइ-अय; अइ-अइ-अ-अइ, अय-अय }

Dr. Tessitori traces it as order:—

अइ-अइ } :—अइ-अय, ऐ-औ-अ-अइ
अय-अय }

In other words,

- (1) I claim *प्रति-संश्लेषण* for अइ-अय while Dr. Tessitori claims *संश्लेषण* for अय-अय.
- (2) I put the wide sound as the result of accent and the *वेद्य* nature of अ helped by the ए and ऐ factors, while Dr. Tessitori's ऐ-औ (formed from अइ-अइ) suddenly and unaccountably jump into the *वित्त* sound.

I may now lay before you my remarks on Dr. Tessitori's views and arguments. I shall refer to the reasons as *Remarks on Dr. Tessitori's views* marked by me above.

(a)—(1). In the first place I take my stand on the broad basis of the general principle that unaccented medial इ and ए are respectively changed to ए and ऐ during their transit into Gujarati. This will include cases of such इ and ए, whether they are preceded by अ or by any other vowel. The same should not be confined to अइ and अय simply. If instances can be shown to prove the operation of *प्रति-संश्लेषण* over a wider field, that

very fact should strengthen the case of अइ and अउ passing into अय and अउ. I have already given such instances in dealing with the *utsarga* about *prati-samprasāraṇa*.

(a) — (2). I am afraid the instances where the Old Western Rājasthānī Mss. write य and इ must be limited in number. Dr. Tessitori refers to this peculiarity noticed by him in a particular Ms. (F. 722) and infers therefrom that it is a mere writing peculiarity (See His "Notes" § 4-15).

The instances there given contain the words कयम, लयम and the like. In view of the fact that कयम, लयम and the like are at present actually pronounced as the spelling stands here (alternatively with केम, लेम &c.), the natural inference would be in favour of the य representing an actual phonetic change rather than the vagary of writing. On the contrary, there are, in a number of Mss. of Old Western Rājasthānī and early Gujarātī works, numerous instances of इ being written invariably, and य being written rarely and that too when य was intended to be sounded, and not इ; so also in the case of उ and व. Thus in Bhāṭana's "Kādambarī" (V. S. 1550 or thereabouts) जाइ is written in a number of places, while जाय in some cases where it is intended to rhyme with words like उपाय, this indicating at once that य was the sound intended.⁴³

43 I have given numerous instances of this in my article on "The Wide Sound of E and O" (*The Indian Antiquary*, XLVI, 300-301, December 1917) — I may only name the works in which the इ and उ occur as stated —

- (1) *Kādambarī*, by Bhāṭana (V. S. 1550 or thereabouts), year of copy, V. S. 1672)
- (2) *Gautama Rdso*, (V. S. 1412),
- (3) *Middhatānala Kathā* (V. S. 1574, copied in V. S. 1693),
- (4) *Uśāharana* by Janīrdana (V. S. 1548).
- (5) *Vimala-prabandha* (V. S. 1568).
- (6) *Vaidā-pancharat* (V. S. 1629).
- (7) Specimens from O. W. R.'s texts (Appendix to Dr. Tessitori's "Notes" Pp. 100-106)

This will show that the *इ* and *य* and *उ* and *व* were not interchangeable script-symbols like *प* and *म*, or *न* and *य*, but each represented the sound intended by itself. And when, in the midst of such systematic use of *इ* and *उ* we find *वपुः*, *वपुर्गो* and the like, or *वपुड्ड*, *पपुड्ड*, side by side with *वड्ड*, the proper inference is that the *phoneticism* process had already commenced in the case of such words, and occasional variations were due to the process being yet in a stage of beginning and not quite settled down; for phonetic changes in a language cannot proceed on regular lines of uniform march, some forms will linger, some progress, some go backwards and forwards, till a final settled state is reached.

Then, *वपुः* and *वपुर्गो* cannot possibly be regarded as (Prākṛit) *evolves*, in as much as such *evolves* (अद्-भत्) of *पे* and *भो* are unknown to Prākṛit literature or Grammar, they came into use at a very late stage even in O. W. Rajasthani. We should rather say that *वपुः-वपुर्गो* are *evolves* and *वपुः-वपुर्गो* are *evolves*. For the reason just given, it is not correct to say that अद् (and भत्) may in these cases be a corruption of Skr. *पे* (and *भो*), H. machandra notes the change of *पे* to *प*, *इ*, and *भ* (as also that of *भो* to *भो*, *उ* and *भ*), but nowhere does he speak of अद् (and भत्) as *evolves* of *पे* (and *भो*), nor are they found in Prākṛit works. Nor should we be justified in going behind H. machandra and reading into his *evolves* any such phonetic tendency.

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. | G. |
|--------|--------------------------|---|
| नापि | णवि | नप |
| स्तनः | धणो-धणु | थान |
| स्थानं | थाणं-थाणु | थान (=the place of a horse in a stable). |
| वनचरकं | वणयरउं | वनेरुं |
| तनय | तणओ-तणउ | तन |
| मन | मणं मणु | मन |
| भगिनी | बहिणी | बईन |
| यौवनं | जोव्वण-जोव्वणु | जोवन |
| ग्रहणं | ग्रहणु (further ग्रहणु). | घन. |

Furthermore the very process of *anti-samprasāraṇa* takes place under reversion in words like the following:—

(2)

| | | |
|-----------|---------------|----------------|
| कः पुनः | कोउण-कउण | कउण (O. W. R.) |
| | कवण | कवण (O. W. R.) |
| (दिश+अपर) | देसावर देसाउर | देशावर (G.) |
| | (O. W. R.) | |
| देवइण | देवुल-देउल | देबळ |
| देवर | देउर | देवर (H.) |

No doubt, cases of reversion, even if many, will mark an exceptional process. But it establishes a principle which may operate justifiably.

(c) *The presence of ऐ-औ in earliest Māravāṭī and Gujarāṭī Manuscripts*—

On this point I must at the outset observe that so far as Gujarāṭī Mss. are concerned, later or early, ऐ-औ are not seen in use, so far as I know. I suspect Dr. Tessitori's impression is mistaken. As regards Māravāṭī Mss. I have no doubt that the ऐ-औ that have appeared after the अइ-अउ of the O. W. R. *Yasthānī* are not the narrow diphthongs known to Sanskrit, but the wide *ê* and *ô* sounds represented in writing by means of the

symbols ३ ३ as a mere make-shift, an imperfect and misleading make shift. In fact it was this very feature that misled Dr. Tassitori when, from his distant place in Italy, he regarded the Māravāḍi symbols for what they usually stand in Sanskrit and concluded that the Māravāḍi changed अ॒-अ॒ to ऐ-अ॒ . (See *supra* Pp. 174). My view that the ऐ-अ॒ in Māravāḍi Mes. represent the wide ३ and ३ receives an incidental support from the fact that, even at present, Hindi uses these symbols (३ ३) to indicate their peculiar sound which certainly is not the narrow Sanskrit sound, nor the very wide Gujarāt sound.

Next, if ऐ-अ॒ were really purely diphthongal in their sound (i. o. narrow) in their early Māravāḍi stage, it is inconceivable what possibly could have turned them later on into the wide sound almost at a bound. The diphthongal ऐ-अ॒ have no affinity with the wide sound. In order to reach it they must pass back into अ॒-अ॒ , for even for passing into the narrow ऐ-अ॒ they first get split into अ॒-अ॒ ,¹¹ a double reversion which is not supported by probabilities.¹²

The principle of compression and through it the formation

of ए-ओ in Prākṛit is visible if we look behind some of the *sūtras* of Hēmacandra's. Thus:—

- (1) The वय becomes ते in त्रयोदश-तेरह, त्रयोविंशति-तेवीसा; त्रयविंशद्-तेतीसा and so forth. (*Si. H.* VIII-i-165)
(Here the अयो become अय, then अइ, and then ए).
- (2) अयस्कार becomes एकार (*Si. H.* VIII-i-166). (The steps are अयकार-अइकार-एकार).
- (3) कडल becomes केळ or कयळ (*Si. H.* VIII-i-167).
(The steps are कयळ-कइळ-केळ).⁴⁶
- (4) कर्णिकार becomes कण्णेर (also कण्णिआर) under *Si. H.* VIII-i-168.
(The steps are -कण्णियार-कण्णयार-कण्णयर-कण्णइर-कण्णेर).
- (5) नवमालिका, नवफालिका change their नव to नौ. (*Si. H.* VIII-i-170).
(Steps अव-अउ-ओ).
- (6) अव and अप (*upasargas*) become ओ (optionally). (*Si. H.* VIII-i-172).

the wide sound (अ-भ) as unacceptable. In the first place they are incorrect as symbols of the wide sound, signs as they have hitherto been regarded as of the narrow diphthong, and secondly, they will cause confusion by being made to represent the wide अ-भ as well as the narrow diphthongs ऐ-औ (as in देव-गौण etc.), just as at present the ॲ and ॳ symbols cause confusion by being used indifferently for the narrow as well as the wide ॲ and ॳ (वेरु=to scatter and वेर (really वर)=enmity, गेळ (round), and गळ (=molasses), being shewn by the same kind of *mātrā* sign)

46. Pischel derives this word through different steps thus — कडल-कडिल-करळ-केळ. The reasons which induce me to prefer the steps given by me are —

(1) कडिल for कडल is not quite a known change, the principle underlying the *sūtra*, स्वराणां स्वरा. प्रत्योऽयमशे, or better still, that underlying *Si-H.* VIII-i-46 may support the case for कडिल, but we need not go so far when the obvious and natural steps are available

(2) *Sampasdrana* is latent in *sūtras* like *Si-H.* VIII-i-171, 172 and VIII-iii-149, under which कवण becomes कोण, अव and अप become ओ and the अव to the causal becomes ए (मारयति-मारेर).

(3.) कयळ is actually an optional form given by Hēmacandra himself. It would be a natural and easier step from कयळ to करळ

- (7) *स्वप्न* becomes *सोप्* (optionally). (*St. H.* VIII-i-171).
 (8) The *अप* of the Sanskrit causal becomes *ए* in Prakrit under *St. H.* VIII-iii-142. *वापयति-वापेह*, *मापयति-मापेह* etc.

This genesis of *ए-ओ* as coming from *अप-अत्* receives support from the fact that *अप-अत्* are really the intermediate steps in changes like *पो* from *स्वपिह*; *पो* from *पूत* (the *ऊ* being changed to *अ* by metathesis), *मोह*, *योग्ण*, &c. from *मृण*, (*मरण*), *चतुर्गुण* (*चतुर्गुण*), etc. All this indicates that *अप-अत्*, whether independent of *अप-अत्* or evolved therefrom, unite into the *ए-ओ* or *ए-ओ*. The wide *ई-औ* must come from *अप-अत्* alone. For it cannot be seriously contemplated that the narrow *ए-ओ* formed from *अप-अत्* turned all at once into the wide *ई-औ*, or that *अ+इ* or *अ+उ* could generate both the sounds, narrow as well as wide.

(d) *The change of अप-अत्* into *ई-औ* and *ई-औ* into *ई-औ* and *ई-औ* into *ई-औ*.

This does not require much discussion. For Dr. Tresselt virtually agrees with me as regards the first step through which *अप-अत्* passes, viz the throwing back of *इ* giving *अप* as a result. I presume he holds the same view in the case of *अत्*. As regards *अप* and *अत्* I have made enough observations in the above discussion viz the objections to *अप-अत्* changing into *अप-अत्*, and the process whereby *अप-अत्* and *अप-अत्* generate the wide sound in *ई-औ*.

I may meet a possible objection to the theory of *अप-अत्* (*अप-अत्*) generating the wide sound, *ई-औ*. It may be asked - "ई-औ comprise *अ+इ* and *अ+उ*; *अप-अत्* do not contain *इ-उ* by the very fact that they (*इ-उ*) have undergone *प्रत्ययान्तर* and therefore they cannot go back to their original sound, how then could *अप-अत्* yield *ई-औ*?" My answer would be - The wide *ई-औ* are really wide sounds, unknown before the early Gujarati and Marathi evolution, in a way they are foreign sounds, as I shall show soon later. They then comprise (a) the foreign element and (b) the nature of *ए* and *ओ*. Of these (a) is a predominant feature and (b) a suppressed feature and the latter

(h), is contributed simply by the इ-उ remaining, as it were in the form of a latent influence in ए and ए. This does not amount to an admission that the अइ-अउ stage really intervenes between अय-अव and ऐ-औ. The latent influence remains only for the limited purpose of giving the ए-औ sounds, or rather the sounds that form the element common to the narrow and the wide sounds, while the final formation ए-ए continues to be the dominant factor. This may be likened in a way, to the principle underlying Pāṇini's *sūtra* स्यानिवरादेशः (I-i-56), with the portion अनङ्विधो excluded. I use this as a mere indication of analogy of operation, for there is a distinction between the two principles. All that is intended is that we have to look at the actual stages through which the sound formations pass, and account for the apparent anomaly by the fact that in passing into the final formation the ए and ए carry with them the inherent condition of इ and उ, this condition operating only as a latent formative cause.

But a bolder, and perhaps truer, answer would be that the ऐ-औ sounds are really a new sound having hardly any connection with the इ and उ sounds, which they have left far behind after the intermediate steps, अय-अव, and अय-अव come in and do their work.

This would dispose of the objection at once, as it removes the very foundation on which the objection is based.

[Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar's view as to the relative position of ए-ए and इ-उ in these cases may be noted here with advantage. At P. 44 of his Lectures he rightly points out that अइ-अउ differ from ऐ-औ in that the अ is rapidly pronounced in the diphthongs and not so in the dissyllables (अइ-अउ). He goes on to say that when अ is followed by ए-ए (in अय-अव) as it is followed by इ-उ (in ऐ-औ), and अय-अव are hastily pronounced the distinction (between इ-उ and ए-ए) disappears and अय-अव become ऐ-औ, which finally become ए-औ in Pāh. This view contains the germs of the theory advanced by me as to the ए-ए carrying within them the nature of इ-उ. My further step in the matter of the wide ऐ-औ takes into account the prominence, in Gujarātī and Mārvāḍī,

of the *अ* in *अ॒-अ॒* and the subsidiary help given by *ए-ए* in producing the *विष्ण* sound.

To put the whole matter in a nutshell once more, the difference between Dr Tessitori's analysis and mine is this —

That while Dr Tessitori traces the wide sound thus —

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{अ॒} \\ \text{अ॒} \end{array} \right\} - \text{अ॒-ए-अ॒} \qquad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{अ॒} \\ \text{अ॒} \end{array} \right\} - \text{अ॒-अ॒-अ॒}$$

I trace it thus —

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{अ॒} \\ \text{अ॒} \end{array} \right\} - \text{अ॒ अ॒ अ॒} \qquad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{अ॒} \\ \text{अ॒} \end{array} \right\} - \text{अ॒-अ॒-अ॒}$$

by relying on *अ-ए-अ* in the first step (for *अ॒-अ॒*), I rely on *प्र-ह-प्र-ह-प्र* in the first step (for *अ॒ अ॒*), (leaving aside the difference of view already pointed out as regards *ए अ॒* as a penultimate step). With regard to this divergence, it may be pointed out once more that cases like *ए॒* changed to *ए॒* are actually found, while *अ॒* is not seen changed to *अ॒*, for where (in rare cases) the *ए* of *अ॒* or *अ* of *अ॒* has undergone *प्र-ह-प्र*, it has resulted in —

(1) the narrow *ए* or *अ॒* (as in *अ॒-अ॒-अ॒* etc.)

or (2) the *अ॒* remaining in hiatus (as in *अ॒-अ॒-अ॒* (after *प्र-ह-प्र* of *ह* in *अ॒*))

or (3) *अ॒* or *अ॒* (as in *अ॒-अ॒-अ॒*).

and it is peculiar to Gujarātī and Mārāvāḍī. The sound in Bangālī is nearer to this *विद्युत्* sound than is the short *A suggestion.* sound in Pālī; but the phonetic process which we have traced is inapplicable in the case of Bangālī. Now, this wide sound came into Gujarātī and Mārāvāḍī during the early history of their growth, probably about the early part of the seventeenth century of the Christian era; this is indicated by the significant fact that Mārāvāḍī Mss. belonging to that period try to symbolize the sound, however inadequately, yet obviously designedly, by writing ऐ and औ. This period coincides with the time when the Mogul Empire had just been consolidated by Akbar, and Akbar's great efforts had brought Arabic and Persian literature and languages into close contact with Indian literature and languages. It is therefore very possible that this wide sound which is peculiarly similar to, or at least extremely near, the pre-wide sound of Arabic and Persian words of the types of *इय़ान* and *क़ज़*, was matured under the indirect influence of these foreign languages. It is certainly not unlikely that the sound in *वयण-वयण* should have recognised a close likeness in the foreign word *इय़ान*, or that *कव्ही-कव्ही* should have found a similar correspondence in the sound in *क़ज़*, and that thus a silent current of phonal influence generated and established itself. Bearing in mind the fact that the Arabic-Persian sound is not *अ-अ* but *अय़-अय़*, it would be more correct to say that this sound as well as the Gujarātī-Mārāvāḍī sound in the *अय़-अय़* stage, developed into the wide sound finally in Gujarātī and Mārāvāḍī. I am aware that Hindi, the language of a province where the Mogul influence was wider and more powerful, has the sound not identically wide with Gujarātī and Mārāvāḍī. This can be very well accounted for by the comparatively sturdy character of the people speaking Hindi who tried to steer clear of this foreign influence and only partially succeeded, for, after all, the similarity between the new indigenous sound and the foreign sound was really very close. Mārāvāḍī came under this foreign influence in a lesser degree, in spite of the fact that numerous Persian words were imported during the

period noted above; and consequently it did not succumb to the influence so far and preserved the \bar{u} and \bar{v} sounds as narrow ones. This was mainly due to its tendency to subordinate the accentuation of the \bar{u} in the vocalic groups \bar{u} and \bar{v} .

[Mr. Beames, Vol. I pp. 110-111, sees non-Aryan influences at work in what he calls "the breaking down of \bar{a} and \bar{i} into e ." But under this head he indiscriminately includes the \bar{u} sound as also the short sound in Pāli and Prākṛit found in words like \bar{u} , \bar{v} and the like. He connects this sound with the contact between the Aryan tribes and the Kule and Dravidians. As regards Gujārātī he says—"The Aryans of Gujārāt also displaced non-Aryan tribes, and may from them have caught this trick of speech." As this refers obviously to the short e in words like \bar{u} &c., and the Gujārātī has at no stage possessed such a sound, that theory cannot be accepted with regard to the \bar{u} sound in Gujārātī which, as I have noted above, came into existence only after the Persian contact during the early part of the seventeenth century.]

Dr. Teggiani has done me the honour of criticizing my views on this wide sound as expressed in my article in the Indian Antiquary, XLVI. Part DLXXXIX, 1917, A.D. and Vol. XLVII. Parts DXCI and DXCII 1918 A.D. His criticism is published in the Indian Antiquary Vol. XLVII. Part DXCIX, September 1918 A.D. pp. 223 ff. As his arguments are not such as to shake my conclusions, I do not enter upon a detailed rejoinder here. However, my remarks on his fresh article are entered in Note B at the end of this Lecture.

We take leave of this *saṃgraha* about the \bar{u} sound in \bar{u} - \bar{v} and pass on to another important *saṃgraha*.

Chapter II—The \bar{u} - \bar{v} and \bar{u} and \bar{v} endings of masculine nouns and of masculine nouns.

UTSARGA II

The \bar{u} and \bar{v} endings of masculine nouns and of masculine nouns, the principles underlying these variations

Note—Adjectives are to be included along with nouns here.

A few instances may be placed before our eyes in order to consider the conditions of this feature in Gujarati words.

Masculine

ओ ending—

घोडो, आंगो, घडो, पीपळो, साळो, चरिो, धाँळो, रातो, साचो, मांढो,
ल्हावो.

अ ending—

वड, मोर, नोट, वाघ, साप, साद, मांखण.

Neuter

उ ending—

મહું, છનું (મનું, સર્વનું), સાતનું, ચમચું, ધાંણું, કાણું, રાતું, મ્હાંડિં, વચ્ચું,
રૂપું, તાણું.

અ ending—

ચર, ઈળ, ઈળ દૂધ, પાટળ, ધોર, રીંટ, તેલ, પીતલ.⁴⁷

Again there are certain words which alternately take the ओ or उ endings as well as retain the अ ending —

ओ ending —

| | |
|-----------|---------------|
| પથરો-પથર; | હુંગરો-હુંગર; |
| કાનો-જાન, | મારો-માર, |
| દાધો-દાધ; | દાતો-દાત, |
| વાતો-વાત, | મામો-મામ; |
| રસો-રસ; | પાયો-પાય. |

It may be noted that in this list generally, with but a few exceptions, there is a difference of meaning between the word

47. Mr Beames is a little hazy and discrepant in his view of this final અ, sometimes recognizing it as a full અ and sometimes dropping it out, treating the consonantal ending (See his Vol I, Pp 19-20, and 207-8). He actually writes પેર, પીર and regards the અ as dropped, although (P. 202) he admits the halfway position of the final અ. And yet in Vol II, Pp 4-5 he actually treats of the stem ending in અ. Yet, again, at Pp, 8 and 188 of the same volume he regards the words as ending in consonants or calls the અ by the paradoxical name, "silent અ,—a misnomer, more than a paradox. A silent vowel is an impossibility in Indian tongues and the term and the idea are borrowed from

ending in भौ and that (from the same original) ending in भ (see n. 60 *infra*).

उं ending:—

पानुं-पान; गानुं-गाय; भ्रानुं-भ्राय; आनुं-आय; नानुं-नाय.

The same remark about the difference in meaning applies to these words as that regarding the masculine words, just noted. (See n. 60 *infra*.)

Now, the question is—what is the principle which determines the भ ending in one case and the भौ or उं ending in the other.

The answer comes. The answer may be framed synthetically in the following manner.

Sanskrit and Prākṛit or *Dāśya* words to which the क termination was suffixed at some time or other take the भौ ending in masculine and उं ending in neuter gender; those to which the क termination was not so suffixed take the भ ending; while those which took the क suffix and dropped it alternately (when, generally, the meaning of the word was changed) take the भौ or उं ending and the भ ending alternately.

The analysis of this rule is as under —

(b) According to the same *sūtra* (VIII-iv-331) Sanskrit words ending in अ, without the क termination, turn the final अ into उ; and thus we have शब्दः (Skr.), सद्मे (Pr.), सद्मे (Apabh.). This final उ is changed into अ in Gujarātī under the operation of a widely applicable *utsarga* to be noticed later on. (e. g. मधु-मध, विना-विणु-विण; etc.). So we have सद्मे (after संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व).

NEUTER.

⁴⁸(c) According to *Si.-H.* VIII-iv-354-कान्तस्यातउंस्यमोः, in *Apabhramśa* neuter words ending in क (i. e. अक) before the nominative (and accusative) singular termination turn the final अ into उ. Thus:—

पणकं (Skr.)-पणउं (Apabhramśa)-पाउं⁴⁹ (G.). [संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व; and change of ण to न].

(d) According to *Si.-H.* VIII-iv-331, in the case of words not ending in क, the words turn their final अ to उ before the nominative (and accusative) singular termination; thus गृहं (Skr.)-गृहं (Pr.)-गृह (Apabh.)-गृह (G.) [The final उ turns into अ as noted under (b) above].

In the case of words in the alternative list given above, the termination क is appended and dropped by turns and through the operation of the above-named *sūtras* of Hēmachandra we get the alternative forms in Gujarātī with the ओ or उ ending on the one hand, and the अ ending on the other;

In the case of alternative forms like कानो-कान् देव, the क suffix is alternately added and dropped, hence the two forms.

48. Śīśir Vrajakī in his *Utsargamālā* deals with the ओ ending (*utsarga* 156) and only cites forms with उ ending under *utsarga* 175 which treats the उ ending in *Apabhramśa* of masculine and neuter nouns. Here his treatment is faulty in both the cases. He does not take the ओ ending through the क suffix and consequent अउ; nor does he account for the *anusvara* in the उ ending, as we have seen in *Si.-H.* VIII-iv-354, (of course the *anusvara* is the remnant of the ए in the Sanskrit neuter termination).

49. The अ in अउ becomes दुवै and is therefore dropped.

(Here are words whose meanings are modified or altered by

Alternative forms the क suffix in the resulting Gujarātī words.)⁵⁰
occur when the The same principles apply to words derived
sense of the words from *Deśya* language:—
is changed.

| | | |
|------------|---------|--------|
| पारककं | पारकउं | पारकुं |
| गिरिअं(कं) | गिरिअउं | गिरुं |
| कोडुं | कोडु | कोड |

50. Thus.—पथर 1, a large stone slab,

2. Stone, as material, pebble, पथरी a stone pebble,

कान—the ear;

कानो—the round rim portion of vessels—jars, loṭas &c.

हाथ—the hand,

हाथो—a handle;

बांस—a bamboo;

बांसो—the back; (from Skr. वैश्व—the back bone)

रस—1. taste; 2. fluid.

रसो—Gravy, some fluid portion in an eatable or cooked dish.

दाँत—a tooth, the teeth,

दाँतो—the tooth of a comb, saw or the like.

गाम—the foetus,

गामो—the inner stuffing of a cushion and the like;

पाय—a foot, a leg, (of an animal)

पयो—Foundation; the leg of a chair, stool, &c.

पान—a leaf (the leaf of a tree), a beetle-leaf.

पानु—the leaf of a book.

साच—Truthfulness.

साचु—True.

भरण—Powdered stuff put into the eyes, for sore eyes.

भरणु—Remittance, addition, &c.

नाक—Nose.

नाकु—The mouth of a street, the hole of a needle.

Only two words in the list given above keep the meaning unchanged, with or without the क; डुंग and डुंगो both mean a hill, a mountain; and अंगन and अंगु both mean a court-yard.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{पाणिं} \\ \text{पाणिं} \end{array} \right\}$$

५०

बोद्ध(५)

$$\text{उभो(५)} \\ (=५)$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{पाणु} \\ \text{पाणिं} \end{array} \right\}$$

५५

बोद्ध

उभद्

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{पाण} \\ \text{पाणिं} \end{array} \right\}$$

५५

बोद्धो

उभो

[In *Apabhraṃśa* the ५ termination is sometimes tacked on twice, e. g. बौद्धि ते रिभद्धं भन्नाद्धं (Ss. III. V111-iv-122, illustration). रिभद्धं is=द्वयद्धं-रिभद्धं-रिभद्धं]

बौद्धो

बौद्ध

बौद्ध (=a parrot)

५५(५)(५) ५५५५

५५५५ (=a lion)

(The भ in ५ is दृगन्त and then dropped.)

Now the question is . . . Why is it that some words take

The case why it is the ५ suffix, and others do not? Again, why do different words take it at one time and not at another? This root-searching question has exercised Mr. Beames' mind considerably and he has devoted several pages (Vol. II, Pp 6 to 15, also P. 30) to an able inquiry into it, although he is led occasionally into some erroneous conclusions. He has tried to show that Dr. Hoernle's theory which accounts for the भो ending by the ५ termination is not correct, and himself advances the theory of accent, viz. that oxytones, i. e. words with an accent on the last vowel (भानोद्गता) take the भो ending, whereas larytones, i. e. words with an accent on the penultimate vowel (or even भानुद्गता) take the भ ending; and that the same principle applies to the ५ ending of neuter nouns and the corresponding भ ending. His reason apparently is that the accent on the final vowel makes it prominent and hence it's final भो, whereas the accent not being on it reduces its prominence and hence the weakened भ.

Let us examine this theory. One argument against the theory of accent is this — If the भो or भ ending is determined by the accent, how is it that the same Sanskrit word has two Goṣṭhā forms —

Let us examine this theory. One argument against the theory of accent is this — If the भो or भ ending is determined by the accent, how is it that the same Sanskrit word has two Goṣṭhā forms —

one ending in ओ, the other in अ ? e. g. कानो-कान; हाथो-हाथ &c. If it is contended that the change in the meaning is accompanied by a change in the accent; all I ask is—Is there any proof of this ? Besides at least in one or two instances (हुंगरो, आंगणुं; हुंगर, आंगण) there is no change in the meaning. How can this defence apply in this case, then ?

On the other hand, there are sure grounds in support of the क theory.—

Sure grounds in support of the क theory.

(1) Prakṛit has घोरो, *Apabhramśa* घोड़ and घोड्ड, Old Western Rājasthānī घोड्ड. This

intervening form ending in अउ indicates that

the Gujarātī ओ ending could not have come from the Prakṛit ओ ending (especially as the ओ is अर्धविवृत in Gujarātī and not in Prakṛit). Well, then, this अउ can be accounted for in one of two alternative ways:—

(1) The Prakṛit ओ ending got split up into अ and उ, and so घोरो became घोड़ in *Apabhramśa* and Old Western Rājasthānī;

or (2) The क termination was affixed to the Sanskrit or Prakṛit original word, and thus the final अक became अउ in *Apabhramśa*.

Of these two theories, (1) seems highly improbable; ओ is known to split up into अउ (and the process explained by physical peculiarities of the people) but ओ never. There is no authority or probability to support the theory. For (2) there is ample support in the *sūtra* VIII-iv-331 &c. discussed above.

(b) Taking the अउ, then to result from the क suffix, the अर्धविवृत final ओ of nouns in the masculine gender in Gujarātī finds a complete explanation, as already shown in the discussion of the last *utsarga*,⁵¹ whereas the accent theory (deprived of the क suffix and consequent अउ) will leave this अर्धविवृत sound unex-

51. Thus a link between the last *utsarga* (*Utsarga I*) and the present one (*Utsarga II*) is furnished in this अर्धविवृत sound of the ओ ending.

plained for, that ओ (emerged through अउ-अउ अउ) will always be अउिउत, -अउत

[Mr Beames, virtually admitting the ऋ(अउ) termination (Vol II P. 29) just misses the real constitution and genesis of the ओ ending when he says that the अउ becomes अओ (by the elision of ऋ) and that 'In the moderns the अ drops out and the ओ is retained in G and S, but changed to ओ in the others' as we know the अउ becomes अउ which alone can give the अउिउत अउ or the अउ becomes अअ and gives ओ in V and II practically — The change of ओ to ओ is really unknown]

Let us go further into the question. There are certain

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>But these (अउ) are the only ones which according to Mr Beames' accent rule should take the अउ ending alone, and yet in fact they take the ओ ending as well with a change in the meaning these are —</i></p> | <p>Larytones which according to Mr Beames' accent rule should take the अउ ending alone, and yet in fact they take the ओ ending as well with a change in the meaning these are —</p> |
| <p><i>कान-कानो (Skr कान) राज-राजो (Skr राज)</i></p> | <p>कान-कानो (Skr कान) राज-राजो (Skr राज)</p> |
| <p><i>गाय-गायो (Skr गाय) दान-दानो (Skr दान)</i></p> | <p>गाय-गायो (Skr गाय) दान-दानो (Skr दान)</p> |
| <p><i>मान-मानो (Skr मान) </i></p> | <p>मान-मानो (Skr मान) </p> |

मने (मो) is not even officially अउत although एत

It is also noteworthy that in peasants' Gujarāṭī દોર has દોરા (=cattle) in the plural, so માળસ-plural માળસાં, માદ-plural માદા, મચ્છર (=a mosquito)-plural મચ્છરા,⁵³ &c. The ⁵³simplification of the conjunct in મચ્છર without the lengthening of the preceding vowel when it takes the plural form, મચ્છરા distinctly indicates the cause, viz the shifting of the accent from the initial to the final vowel. This may perhaps give an indication of the partial correctness of the accent theory of Mr Beames.

अणु is a harytone in popular Sanskrit, oxytone only in Vedic Sanskrit (सिद्धमन्त्र, पाद 1, sūtra 14). According to Mr Beames' theory, then, it ought to be अणु and not अणो as it is in Gujarāṭī. It may be accounted for by arguing that the ओ ending is due to the influence of Vedic Sanskrit, as the Prakrits are very old, and possess some features in common with Vedic Sanskrit, e. g. the ऌ sound in the Paśācī Prakrit (S. II, VIII-iv-308), and the use of the genitive for the dative form (S. II, VIII-iii-131, and Pāṇini II-ii-62).

Mr Beames is not unconscious of these stumbling-blocks in the path of his accent theory. He himself notes these exceptions in the lists given by him. The only thing is that he unfairly throws the onus on the holders of the क theory. (Vol III, P. 14, first para of 85 and last para of the page) For, these men do not advance the theory that क is

affixed in the case of a particular accent. It is Mr Beames himself who claims for the accent the position of the determining cause.

However, Mr Beames has an explanation for the above noted

His other explanation Early tadbhavas and late tadbhavas anomalies viz that the influence of the accent is seen only in what he calls early tadbhavas, in late tadbhavas exceptions may crop up and there are in the late tadbhavas some words which may be co-existent with

53 Skr मयक, (+ङ) मयकक Pr मयकमो, Apabhr मयकड, मयकड, (masculine changed to neuter) मयकड. This may be a possible sequence of evolution. The conjunct मयक is evidently a reverse process—from simple to complex—the simplification of the conjunct is therefore to be regarded as a back-reverse movement.

the latest of the early *śaṅkṛta*, and it is therefore difficult to draw a line between the two there. As regards the alternative endings of the same word, he says the words are old *śaṅkṛta* in the primary sense, and new *śaṅkṛta* in the secondary sense, thus—

पत्रं=the leaf of a tree (primary sense), therefore न पत्रा,

पत्रं=ear (primary sense), therefore पत्रा, edge (secondary sense), therefore पत्रो and so forth for माय-मायो, &c.

However, in the case of words like पृथु, पृथु, &c., which being of daily and familiar use gave the old *śaṅkṛta*, what explanation can Mr. Beames give regarding the defence of accent? Only the difficulty of drawing a line between the old and the new *śaṅkṛta*. As for the opposite cases, i.e. words which do not take the *śaṅkṛta* ending although they are *śaṅkṛta*, e.g. पृथु-पृथु, Mr. Beames explains that he cannot find many un doubted examples of that class, and that even those that do occur do not run through all the seven vernaculars. But this leaves the exceptional form unexplained, after all.

I may suggest here a possible explanation—viz. that the accent may have shifted in the course of transit

I suggest as in the explanation, the word may have shifted in transit from Sanskrit to Prakrit.

from Sanskrit to Prakrit or it may have been regarded as having shifted, and this may have affected the phonetic change. Sanskrit and Prakrit were at one period spoken simultaneously. During that period certain words had the

forms dependent on the ear, not on the eye, and these are the early *śaṅkṛta*. Others were re-created from the written language by learned men centuries after it had ceased to be spoken these are the late *śaṅkṛta*. This is Mr. Beames' decision and it is he throws all the exceptions in the class of late *śaṅkṛta*.

in the manifest existence of the क termination in the shape of the ओ or उ ending, this termination is perceptible whereas accent is past and gone and thus imperceptible to the ear or to the eye in writing

But Mr Beames himself does not discard the क theory altogether. There are a number of statements in his work which show this. In stating Dr Hoernle's क theory (Vol II P 5) he says distinctly -

Mr Beames does not really discard the क theory of Dr Hoernle's

To this opinion I in the main subscribe "

Only he goes a step farther and advances his accent theory giving reasons. At Pp 26-30 he discusses the क termination in detail and there are several assertions there supporting the क theory. At P 29 he actually cites घोडओ II घोडा⁵⁴ (Only he does not give the *Apabhramśa* घोडउ). But clearest of all is his following statement -

Here also it may be admitted that as the suffix may be added at will to all nouns in Prakrit it is probable that many of the nouns ending in long *a* or *o* which I have held to be derived from Sanskrit oxytones do in reality owe their final long vowel to the fact that the word from which they are derived had in popular though not in classical usage a क tacked on to it "

(Vol II, P 30)

(The italics are mine)

Only he adds a query -

The difficulty as already mentioned is the existence of any nouns in *a u* if /*a* is added to all nouns of the *a*-stem why do not all end in *-o*?

[Note -The *u* ending is found in Sindh and before the 14th century in the later *Apabhramśa* Kachchī has अ for the final उ]

The defect in this query is that Mr Beames unwarrantably

54 It may be remembered that the II ndt ओ ending corresponds to the Gujarātī ओ ending though the former results from अअ and the latter from अउ

assumes that the holders of the ॠ theory contend that *o*/' nouns take the ॠ termination. They only say that where the ॠ is added we have the *o*-endings, and where it is not added we have the *e*-endings.¹²

Dr. Hoernle's theory. It will be useful to quote Dr. Hoernle fully as he has stated fully, and here and examine his theory briefly. He says -

"In Prakrit any nominal case (nominative case) may have two forms as regards the termination: 1. a *general* form which it has also in Sanskrit, and 2. a *particular* form, peculiarly Prakrit, made by the addition of the suffix ॠ (See Dr. Prak. IV, 25), e. g. tree is वृक्ष (general form) or वृक्षः (particular form), done is कृत (general) or कृतः (part.), ten is दश (general) or दशः (particular) etc. The consonant ॠ is generally elided, hence वृक्षम्, कृतम्, दशम्. The nominative singular of these cases would be respectively वृक्षो or वृक्षभो for वृक्षो, कृतो or कृतभो (for कृतो), दशो or दशभो (for दशो), etc. Now, Prakrit nouns may of course pass into the Sanskrit in both or either of these forms. But according as they did so in their *general* or in their *particular* peculiarly Prakrit form, they retained their Prakritic complexion, and these nouns constitute the Prakritic element of the Mixed-class Sanskrit. On the other hand, if they passed into the Sanskrit in the *general* form they readily submitted to the action of the pure Sanskrit phonetic and grammatical principles (that is, the law to change भो to उ and the law of not admitting an oblique form), and thus these nouns constitute the *pure* Sanskrit element of the Mixed-class Sanskrit. This may be illustrated again by the present participle, 'being' in Prakrit is वृत्तो (वृत्तो) or वृत्तभो. In

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' Here also it may be admitted that as the suffix may be added at will to all nouns in Prakrit, it is probable that many of the nouns ending in long ā or ō which I have held to be derived from Sanskrit oxytones, do in reality owe their final long vowel to the fact that the word from which they are derived had in popular though not in classical usage a क tacked on to it '

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Only he adds a query -

"The difficulty, as already mentioned is the existence of any nouns in a-u, if ka is added to all nouns of the a-stem why do not all end in ā-ō?"

[Note -The u ending is found in Sindhī and before the 14th century in the later *Apabhramśa* Kachchī has अ for the final उ]

The defect in this query is that Mr Beames unwarrantably

54 It may be remembered that the Hindi अ ending corresponds to the Gujarātī ओ ending though the former results from अअ and the latter from अउ.

assumes that the holders of the क theory contend that *all* nouns take the क termination. They only say that where the क is added we have the *ā-ō* endings, and where it is not added we have the *u-u* endings.⁵⁵

Dr. Hoernle's theory stated fully, and examined. It will be useful to quote Dr. Hoernle fully here and examine his theory briefly. He says:—

"In Prākṛit any nominal case (sic? case?) may have two forms as regards the termination: 1 a *general* form which it has also in Sanskrit, and 2, a *particular* form, peculiarly Prākṛit, made by the addition of the affix क (See Pr. Prak. IV, 25); e.g. hee is धमर (general form) or धमरक (particular form); done is क्किद (general) or क्किदक (part.); true is सच्च (general) or सच्चक (particular) etc. The consonant क is generally elided; hence धमरञ्ज, क्किदञ्ज, सच्चञ्ज. The nominative singular of these cases would be respectively: धमरो or धमरओ, for धमरको; क्किदो or क्किदओ (for क्किदको); सच्चो or सच्चओ (for सच्चको), etc. Now, Prākṛit nouns may of course pass into the Gaṇṇian in both or either of these forms. But according as they did so in their *general* or in their *particular* peculiarly Prākṛit form, they retained their Prākṛitic complexion, and these nouns constitute the Prākṛitic element of the Hindi class Gaṇṇian. On the other hand, if they passed into the Gaṇṇian in the *general* form, they readily submitted to the action of the pure Gaṇṇian phonetic and grammatical principles, (that is, the law to change ओ to उ and the law of not admitting an oblique form), and thus these nouns constitute the *proper* Gaṇṇian element of the Hindi class Gaṇṇian. This may be illustrated again by the present participle; "being" in Prākṛit is हान्तो (होन्तो) or होन्तओ, in

55 Mr. Beames refers in the foot note at Page 50 (Vol II) to Dr. Hoernle's article in J. A. S. Beng. XLI, 154 and says he holds this view of क being always added. From Mr. Beames' own reproduction of Dr. Hoernle's view at P. 5 however, it would seem that Dr. Hoernle simply says that all words which end in *ā-ō* are to be derived from words with a क suffix. This is quite a different thing from saying that *all* nouns take the क suffix. Dr. Hoernle's view will be manifest from the full quotation given and discussed in the text above.

both forms it passed into the Gauṛian; but the form होन्तओ was contracted to हातो (? होतो) (for होन्तो) and remained unchanged or modified to होत (in High Hindi); while the form होन्तो was changed to होतु (for होन्तु). It is easy enough to understand that the Gauṛian termination ओ (or आ) being a contraction of the Prākṛit termination अओ could not be reduced to उ, while the simple termination ओ could be so reduced. The same fact, viz: that the Gauṛian ओ is a contraction of the Prākṛit अओ, may perhaps explain its curious Braj Bhāṣā form औ, the diphthong औ (=अ+अ+उ) is more strictly an equivalent of अओ (i. e. अ+ओ or अ+अ+उ) than the simple ओ".

("Essays on the Gauṛian Languages.", J.A.S. Beng. XLI, 151)

[It may be noted here that Dr. Hoernle divides the vernaculars of India into Dravidian and Gaudian on the analogy of the racial divisions of गौड and द्राविड, and under the head of Gauṛian languages he brings the "Sanskṛitic languages of North India" viz: The Oriyā, the Bangālī, the Hindi, the Naipālī, the Marāṭhī, the Gujārātī, the Sindhī, the Panjābī, and the Kāshmirī].

Now, in the views disclosed in the above extract there is *Confusion of phonetic principles in Dr. Hoernle's views.* visible a certain amount of confusion of phonetic principles governing the evolution of the Prākṛits and the present day vernaculars. Thus—

- (a) The *Apabhraṃsa* step of उ (as the final vowel) in the case of nouns of the अ stem (masculine as well as neuter), and that of ई in the case of neuter nouns ending in अ and with the क suffix, are not recognized. This is perhaps because Dr. Hoernle fixes his eye on the *Prākṛit Pralāpa* only which does not treat of *Apabhraṃsa* at all. And we know that *Apabhraṃsa* is the language which preceded O. W. Rājasthānī in the evolutionary process.

[This is the more surprising because only a short while before at Pp. 150-151 Dr. Hoernle deals with what he calls the Gaudian law of reducing the final diphthong (he means the final

ए-ओ) or long vowel (अ-ई-ऊ) of the Prākṛit to its inherent simple vowel, and in the course of the treatment notices the final short उ as in सनेहु, आयसु &c in Hindi poetry. In fact he says every noun which now ends in अ in Hindi ended in उ in Hindi poetry, and he calls these archaic forms. And yet Dr. Hoernle's dropping this link in the chain between *Apabhramśa* and the modern vernaculars is not surprizing; for although he sees traces of this उ in the Prākṛit stage, it is not in the wide-spread उ ending of *Apabhramśa* but in the limited scope of certain *sūtras* XI-11, V-19, 20, of *Pr. Prāl.*, the former applying only in *Māgadhi* to कान्त participles and the latter in *Mahārāṣṭri* or general Prākṛit to the ओ termination of feminine nouns only (P. 150 note †)].

[Dr. Hoernle sees the prevalence of the law of shortening of the finals over an extensive field, and rightly. But sometimes he overshoots the mark as when (P. 152) he traces the ओइ in "सुप ओइ आचिज सुमात्यौ" back to लोमे nom. sing. *Māgadhi* of लोक when in fact the इ in this case is that of the instrumental लोकेन-लोक-लोभइ; लोकि-लोइ), a fact which he could have perceived at once, for he himself renders the line as "सुप लोमे आशयं माना". Well may we descend to the level of सुपलोक and feel wonder here.]

- (b) Consequently, he regards the change of ओ to उ as a Gaudian peculiarity, when in fact, it is but a remnant of the *Apabhramśa* and post-*Apabhramśa* processes.
- (c) Also, as a consequence of the ignoring of the उ and उ steps of *Apabhramśa* the Gaudian ओ and आ are wrongly regarded by Dr. Hoernle as the contractions of अओ, when the correct view is, that the Gaudian ओ comes from *Apabhramśa* and O. W. Rājasthāni forms in अउ (an intermediate step which cannot be ignored), and the Gaudian आ is the result of the अओ left by the elision of the क in अक, a result which began during the *Apabhramśa* stage itself, (e. g. दोआ, दीहा, etc).

- (d) It is also incorrect to say that the ओ ending of *Braj*

Bhāshā proceeds from the अ ओ; or that अ+अ+उ=अ+ओ yield the औ. The correct view is that the औ ending of *Brāj Bhāshā* is derived from the O. W. Rājasthānī अउ, and is either a misleading symbol of the wide अँ or stands for the अव्यञ्जित औ. It is true that अ+उ make औ and अ+ओ make औ under the rules of *sandhi*. But these rules are very often only practical guides not dealing with the actual working of internal phonetic principles. For, औ is really अउ in its phonal constitution, being the result of a shortened interval between अ and उ, and thus अ+ओ is order to result into औ (even in the *sandhi* process) must pass through the अ+उ stage by shortening the औ to उ in the first instance. Even in the case of औ resulting from अ+उ under the *sandhi* process, there is a phonal truth underlying it; for अ+उ pronounced with a particular tone-flow (as in पर+उपकार) yields the औ (परोपकार), while अ+उ yield औ not as a *sandhi* result, but as the synthetic sound which can be phonally analyzed into अ+उ only; or, better, it is a *sandhi* result of a peculiar kind, arising from the shortening of time interval between the components, अ and उ.

You will thus see that under the examination in the light of principles hitherto dealt with by me in our whole inquiry Dr. Hoernle's diagnosis of the औ and उ endings, is correct only as far as it lights upon the क suffix, but is faulty in the matter of the final steps leading up to the final form.

Taking everything stated in the discussion of this question into our view, can we not suggest a synthetic reconciliation between Dr. Hoernle's and Mr. Beames' theories? I think, we can. In fact there is hardly any real conflict between the two theories, as I see them; one is not a complement of the other. We can easily combine the two and lay

synthetic reconciliation suggested between Mr. Beames' and Dr. Hoernle's theories.

down a synthesis of the two apparently opposite views, somewhat in the following form:—

The ओ and उ endings in Gujarāṭī (and the आ ending in Marāṭhī and Hindi) can be traced back to an original क suffix, no doubt; and thus ओ (also आ) is the patent effect of that suffix. But it was also the case that the suffix was added to words with the accent on the final vowel, and not to others.

Thus, the accent is not the direct cause of the ending, while the क suffix is; the क suffix is, in a way, the उपादान i. e. समवायिकारण of the ओ ending and उ ending, while the accent is their निमित्तकारण, being an indirect influence. The accent, to put it differently, is a co-ordinate factor, which brings into play the क suffix for a special purpose. This purpose is the protection of the final vowel against the corrosion of decay. I would illustrate this: (Skr.) घोटः—घोटो (G.). Here the original word is अन्तोदात्त; as long as there is accent, the final ओ has a chance of standing on its own legs. But in *Apabhraṃśa* the principle of accent disappeared more or less, and the final ओ became comparatively unimportant, which reduced the final ओ of आनुदात्त words like इत्यो to उ (इत्यु). To prevent this fate in the case of what were at one time अन्तोदात्त words like घोटः, i. e. to save the final ओ of घोटो from becoming उ (घोटु), with the final उ reduced to insignificance, a protecting letter in the shape of the neutral suffix क (स्वार्थे क i. e. which preserves the original sense⁵⁶ of the word), a hard consonant, is brought in and tacked on:—thus घोटकः steps in; just as a strong masonry wall is built up in front of a river-bank in danger of being swept away by the force of the stream. घोटकः thus becomes घोटओ;—for, after all, the क cannot come *after* the ओ (घोटोक would be absurd), and the fate that was only deferred overtakes the ओ left by the wearing off (or rather the knocking off) of the protecting consonant (क) and it becomes उ;—घोटउ; the river current corrodes the masonry wall instead of washing away the earth on the bank, the अ of इ is saved and the क gets washed off and the ओ after it is reduced to उ.

56. This excludes the exceptional cases like गम-गमो, where the sense is altered. They will be considered soon further below.

The word पर्ण affords a significant indication of this analysis. In *śiṣṭa* Gujarati पाठ is not the form for the primary sense (a least) but it is पादङ्ग. Here the word being अन्तोदात्त the suffix ङ्ग (for क) is tacked on to preserve the final vowel from corrosion.

The word रास-रासो will throw a good light on this क theory. In Sanskrit रासक means a form of उपरूपक (a dramatic play) or a particular kind of dance called हरीद⁵⁷ accompanied by a particular time measure. Now रासक (masc.) must be a newly coined Sanskrit word at some time or other and the Gujarati word रास came from रास, whereas रासक in the new sense of an epic poem gave us the word रासो through the Hindi रासो, *Apabhraṃśa* and O W Rajasthani रासड. Here the क suffix is undoubtedly equally with the ओ-ओ ending. This ओ points undeniably to the original क suffix¹.

The synthesized rule I propose fully accounts for the अर्धविवृत

This synthesis accounts for the अर्धविवृत so I of the ओ e long a also explains the apparent capriciousness of only some words taking the ओ e I g

sound of the ओ ending and sets at rest the apparent capriciousness of only some words taking the ओ ending. I admit that the case of alternative endings (ओ-उ alternating with अ) remains yet unexplained fully. Why should रस become रस in one sense and in another become रासो by tacking on the क suffix (रसक-रसड-रासो)? Why should it be अन्तोदात्त when

it becomes रासो and आशुदात्त when it remains रस? I may only tentatively suggest that the accent shifts with the change in the meaning of the word. I say tentatively because in the beginning of this discussion I have laid some stress on the want of any proof as to the shifting of the accent. It may however be pointed out

57 मन्त्रेन तु यस्मिन् नृत्यं हरीदकं तु कृतम् ।

तत्र भेदा मयेरेको गोमन्त्रीनां यथा हरि ॥

हरीदशमेव ताडयन्निर्दिष्टयुक्तं उपरुचम् ।

(A key *darśa* of Dandi Bibliotheca Indica edition P. 36 commentary by Premachandra Tarkavagīśa) (At P. 34 the commentary speaks of उपरुच and हरीद as varieties of उपरूपक, which are *śiṣṭa* dialects).

that this state of uncertainty results not from the क theory, but from combining with it the accent theory.

[The case of पत्थर-पथरो affords a good indication of the shifting of accent:

(a) पत्थर, (b) पथरउ.

In (a) the अ in प is strong because of the conjunct रथ; it is accented obviously. In (b) the conjunct is simplified and yet the preceding vowel is not lengthened. This shows that the first syllable has become unaccented, and the accent has moved down to the final vowel.

इत्थु-इत्थउ-इत्थउ (हाथ-हाथो) will not clash against this demonstration, as it is a word of two syllables and therefore is subjected to different forces.]

It may be suggested that after all the क suffix is but an etymological fiction. For all we actually see in *Apabhramśa* and subsequent stages is the अउ. In this अउ the अ being accented the उ stands apart. What could this उ stand for? Hence the क suffix was fictioned. This is only a possible hypothesis. The क theory remains unaffected thereby.

Thus, the *utsarga* I have enunciated broadly-viz: that words to which क⁵⁸ was suffixed take the ओ or उ ending (masculine or neuter as the case be) and those to which the क suffix was not tacked on take the अ ending, stands on a firm basis.

58. It may be objected that this क ought to change to ग in *Apabhramśa*. (Si.-He-VIII-iv-396), e. g. काक:-काग (काकटक:-कागडो); वर:-वग (वरकक:-वगडो); कामनकार; कामनगारो etc.

But the gloss on the *sūtra* eaye, प्रायोऽपिकारात्त्वन्न भवति। This *adhikāra* is in the *sūtra* which begins the *Apabhramśa* chapter (VIII-iv-323); and in the gloss thereon also Hemachandra says:-प्रायोऽप्यह्नाद् यय पन्नेशे विशेषे वक्ष्यते तस्यापि ऋचि प्राहृत्य शौरसेनिक कार्यं भवति॥

Therefore ऋचि भवति quoted just above does not mean that where क is not changed to ग it remains unaltered, but the general Prākṛit rule of elision obtains in this case also. In the illustration of VIII-iv-396 the word कणिभार (for कणिवार) is given; this fact supports this interpretation about the elision of the क.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar has a very thoughtful and suggestive theory regarding these ओ-उं and अ endings. A perusal of Pp. 157-161 of his lectures ("Wilson Philological Lectures") is strongly recommended. (Only where he says that the अउ combine into ओ, I would say they yield the अप्रतिष्ठ अ through the steps-अउ, अव-अउ.) He has shown therein that the ओ-उं (and M. आ-ए) endings are the result of accent as well as the क suffix, though he does not combine the two factors exactly in the shape I have done. His view, however, practically supports the synthesis I have suggested. He further advances an important theory that originally क was tacked on only where some additional sense was intended to be expressed: दांत=tooth, but दांता (M.) "a copy of the animal tooth," i.e. "the tooth of such an instrument as a saw," are among the instances given by him. He holds that there were some words to which the क was not appended at all, and of those to which it was appended two forms existed as shown just above. But, he continues, in course of time the forms without क were out of use, and gradually those with it lost the additional sense.

So far Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar's theory lends full support to mine. Only on a minor and incidental point I am compelled to differ. It is as regards the "silent" अ, dissented from; reasons given. He uses this expression. I have shown⁵⁹ above the यदुत्तरेषायातः or contradiction in terms involved in that expression. This is not merely a nominal difference. The difference lies in the essential nature of the view. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar states. "A great many nouns in our languages end in अ, which has now become silent." (P. 158, ll. 20-21). Again at P. 161, ll. 1 ff. he speaks of the "silent अ" and says that words like अहयम्, पीनम्, जीरन्त are pronounced as अहयम्, पीनम्, जीवन्त. With due deference, I must state that the

59. See *Supra*, note 47 of this Lecture.

*Unaccented mis-
taken as silent*

अ cannot be and is not "silent", it is only unaccented and दुत्त, which is not the same thing as silent, at that rate all short vowels that are

not accented may be called silent, and the pronunciation in the words just above noted is not correctly described अहचण with the अ, in ह and ण, unaccented is not the same thing as अहचण् (with the अ actually dropped). Unaccented does not mean 'not pronounced at all' Take, for instance the words, चोपडी, बेसतो and the like The अ in the medial syllables here is of course

*The metrical test
a true test*

unaccented, but if it were silent the result would be चोपडी, बेसतो &c. and a correct test will be furnished by metrical use Pat बेसतो,

चोपडी, in verse with the अ unaccented, the quantity will still be five *matras*, whereas in बेसतो, चोपडी it will measure four *matras*. You cannot call the अ silent and yet compute its *matra* as one, really it is nil A concrete illustration will be helpful to a clear understanding of this position

ओ ईश्वर तुं एक छे सरज्यो रहें संसार

In this line of a *doharu* metre you should notice the sound of अ in the र of ईश्वर, in the क of एक, and in the final र of संसार If the अ in all these was silent the result would be

ओ ईश्वर् तुं एक् छे सरज्यो रहें संसार,

and while the syllable, श्व, would be *guru* because of the conjunct रतु, the loss of one *matra* in एक् and संसार would make the metre deficient in quantity.

Take another test the Parsis (who are in the habit of writing

*Another test the
quantity of the pre-
ceding vowel affected*

बेसतो &c. in consequence of a wrong apprehension of the sounds) write उप्योग for उपयोग and also pronounce the word as उप्योग The result is, the उ before प्यो (conjunct) becomes

guru, is so pronounced when in fact it is short and unemphasized (i e लघु) and the अ in प unaccented all the same If you regard it as silent the result would be उ *guru*, which it is not A better instance will be found in the word कपडु Here the अ in प is

unaccented and द्रुत; but if it were to be regarded as silent the result would be कपुड् giving गुडत्व to the preceding अ in क, which really it does not possess.

I would suggest a still better test. Try and pronounce चोपडी, साप्, on the one hand and चोपडी, साप् on the other; you will surely find that in the case of the latter (with the अ silent, i. e. really dropped) the lips remain closed till the sound is uttered and finished, while in the case of the former (the unaccented अ) the lips, after pronouncing the labial प् (consonant) open gently, though for a brief, quick half⁶⁰ mātrā time, to eject the breath which gives forth the unaccented, द्रुत, अ sound. (I select this instance of a labial consonant with अ in it, because the lips are easiest and surest of being observed; otherwise the same process occurs in the case of other sthānas also).

Thus, we see that the so-called "silent" अ is not silent, but merely the result of quick pronunciation and want of accent. This creates an auditory illusion and some people hear कान् for कान, दाप् for दाय and the like. They then go a further step in error and give to this the wrong name, silent, probably on the false analogy of silent sounds or letters known to the English language; false analogy, because in English letters like L are silent in certain words, s. g. *walk, talk, calm, palm*, but then L is a consonant

The sounds कान्, दाप्, an auditory illusion; the error further enhanced by the misnomer, "silent," on the wrong analogy of silent letters in English.

60. I give the unaccented अ half a mātrā here; this may seem to conflict with the one mātrā given by me above in the metrical illustration. The conflict, however, is only outward. It will disappear when we consider that if this अ has $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā the full अ has one mātrā when accented, and this $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā perception is only relative and a sort of false perception created by the absence of accent, from the metrical point of view. It may be safely said that the mātrā measure is reduced by one half in the case of non-metrical pronouncing, and thus the gura which has two mātrās, in metrical composition will appear like a single mātrā sound if the silent अ is given $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā.

and silence of such a nature is unknown to our Indian languages. As regards vowels too the silent *r* in "It's" (=It is) or the silent *h* in "I've" (=I have) will go to support my contention that a silent vowel is nothing but a vowel not pronounced, whereas in the case of unaccented *ə* it is pronounced.

I have a suspicion that this creed of the silent *ə* owes its origin to the influence of English associations and was first started by European scholars. We find Mr. Beames, Dr. Hoernle, and Sir George Grierson (and perhaps Dr. Tessitori) amongst the votaries of this creed. Dr. Tessitori calls⁶¹ the *ə* "quiescent" in an incidental reference only. I have not come across any discussion of the question by him. It would seem, however, from this indication

that he holds the theory of a silent *ə*, though perhaps he may not go to the extreme to which others have gone. Sir George Grierson in giving the system of transliteration adopted in his "Linguistic Survey of India" (after the contents), tells us: "Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus *ban*, not *banā*. When not pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindi) *देखा* *dēkh^ātā*, pronounced *dēkh^ātā*," and so forth. I have not come across any detailed discussion of the point by Sir George. But this much is enough to indicate his creed. Mr. Beames' views have already been dealt with by me in a foregoing portion of this Lecture.⁶²

Dr. Hoernle gives his view in some detail. He states:—
Dr. Hoernle's view "Final short vowels in Gaurian are quiescent or stated and examined not pronounced, so that a word, though ending in reality in a short vowel, virtually terminates in a consonant and is treated accordingly."

61. He speaks of a word ending in a quiescent *a* and cites as an instance, the word *मिर* (*Mārvīdi*) = a mirror. (See his article on "Bardic and Historical Survey." J. A. S. Beng., N. S. XII, 78.)

62. See note 47, *supra*.

e. g. कान ear is pronounced *Kān* not *kāna* and treated exactly like बुद्धिमान् *budhimān* (pronounced *budhimān*, not *budhimāna*). This explains also how it happened that words which really end in इ or उ come to be written as if ending in अ. The truth is, that they are not really written with a final अ but their final इ or उ not being pronounced, was also not written. The transcription of the word assimilated itself to the pronunciation; e. g. आग fire seems at first sight by the analogy of कान &c. to be really āga though pronounced only āg; but this is only in appearance, in truth आग stands for आगि (Prākṛit अग्गी, Sanskrit अग्निः). But as final इ was not pronounced it was also expressed in writing. So again the modern High Hindi कर having done stands for the older Hindi करि (Prākṛit करिअ, Sanskrit कृत्वा), which has dropped its final इ in accomodation to the pronunciation."⁶³

In the light of my remarks on the general question of "silent अ" the view set forth above will be found incorrect. As regards आग, कर (from आगि, करि), the only observations I would make are:—

- (a) That even in Hindi आग्, कर् are not the correct images of the sound; the अ is pronounced, but only unaccented. It is inconceivable how the इ should be entirely dropped and no substitute be left. The truer diagnosis is that the इ gave place to अ, for आग्, कर् could not possibly stand unsupported by something to stand on;
- (b) So far as Gujarātī is concerned, the अ, as an evolute of इ, really comes through य (लघुप्रत्यय) which is the intermediate step; अग्नि-अक्खी-आंख्य; similarly आग्य and then आग. This य is not quite worn out even now, and though invariably dropped in Surat and Broach Districts, it manifests itself in certain words like आंख्य, गांठ्य, वीह्य. जाह्य⁶⁴ in Gujarāt proper.

63. "Essays on the Gaurian Languages," J. A. S. Beng. XLI, Part I, (1872 A. D.), 149-150.

64. This is treated of in a subsequent *utsarga* (see *Utsarga* III-(a)-2, *infra*).

Dr Hoernle feels the inherent weakness of his position when assailed by the metrical test, and anticipating it, he disposes of it cleverly. He says —
Dr Hoernle conscious of the weakness of his position, his unconsciously disposing of the metrical test "In poetry, indeed, अग, कर and other nouns of the same nature are commonly treated as if terminating in अ (i. e. āga, kara, not as āg, kar.), but this is merely because according to the native grammatical system, the vowel अ is supposed to be inherent in every consonant."⁶⁵

Evidently Dr Hoernle puts the responsibility on the wrong shoulder, the native grammatical convention has nothing to do with the question here, for that convention affects single, isolated consonant letters which cannot possibly stand without the अ sounds, you cannot utter क्, ख्, ग् etc as they are, but must utter a small अ with them. There is no such inherent physical difficulty in the case of polysyllabic words, जान and the like, कान् can be pronounced easily. The fact that in poetry such words are treated as if ending in अ should really have made Dr. Hoernle pause, and, in the light of that fact, he should have examined his theory backwards. Such an examination would have disclosed the correct situation to him.

Mr J. D. Anderson, in his article on 'Mr Rabindranath Tagore's Notes on Bengali Grammar,' (J. R. *Rabindranath Tagore and Mr J. D. Anderson on the silent अ*, A. S. 1913 A. D., pp 55 ff) refers to Rabindranath Tagore's remarks on this silent अ, which are to the effect that even with regard to words like *lalsi* (ललसी), *ghatki* (घटकी) the rule does not apply when a Bengali is reading aloud (and especially, I might add, says Mr Anderson, when scanning verse). In both literary and colloquial Bengali the internal *a* is not muted in such words as *janarāṇa* (जनরা), *raṇa : ṣa* (রা : সা) &c., although the first members of these compounds, *jan*, *raṇ*, &c. are monosyllables when used separately. Rabindranath comes to the conclusion that

65. "Essay on the Gaurian Languages" J. A. S. Beng. XLI, Part I (1872 A. D.), 150.

- (1) in words recently borrowed from Sanskrit the internal અ is not muted, and
- (2) in words in common and vernacular use the change does occur.

It is enough if I point out that a portion of these observations is significant as against the silent અ, but the greater portion of them is erroneous; throughout the whole treatment of this question the element of accent and its shifting are ignored, and a want of accent is mistaken for લોપ of the vowel અ. I really doubt whether the great poet of Bengal will scan जन, वन as words of one mātrā each.

Several Gujarātī scholars have dealt with this unaccented અ, and, with one or two exceptions, they have not escaped this infection of the "silent અ" theory. The late Mādhavlāl H. Desai in his articles in the "Gujarāt Śālā Patra" adopted this view of a silent અ, so has Mr. Kamlāśankar P. Trivedi, his successor. Mr. Keshavlāl H. Dhruva originally accepted the same view, as is seen by the rules he framed about 1893 A.D. for the guidance of the compilers of a Gujarātī Dictionary which did not come into fruition. His Rule 4 runs thus:—

"Syllables containing a silent અ should be spelt with it; e. g. નરમાસ, કડવાસ, કકલાણ."⁶⁶

Later on, however, he seems to have revised his opinion, for in his paper⁶⁷ on વાઙ્મયાપાર (A. D. 1905) (pp. 9-10) we find him adopting a sound view. He says:—

"આપણા સ્વરોચ્ચારની સરલામણી રૂપેજી ભાષાના સ્વરોચ્ચાર સાથે કરી વિશેષ રહેલે વૈજ્ઞાન્ય ધ્યાનમાં લેઈયે. આપણા અક્ષર બહુધા મધ્ય હયે અને પદ પદાંશને છેડે દ્રુત હયે ચોલાયે. રમત એ પદમાં પહેલા ચે સ્વરોચ્ચાર મધ્ય

66. Paper on જોડણી (by me), Appendix ૪, "Report of the Transactions of the First Gujarātī Śāhitya Parishad.

67. "Report of the Transactions of the First Gujarātī Śāhitya Parishad.

લયના છે; પરંતુ પદાન્ત તક્કારમાંના સ્વરનો ઉચ્ચાર દ્રુત છે; તે દ્રુત લયે ચોલાય-
છે તેથી તેને કેટલાક વિદ્વાનો સામાન્યતઃ મધ્યલયે ચોલાતા સ્વરોની અપેક્ષા
શાન્ત કહે છે. સ્વર જે પ્રકૃતિએ ઉચ્ચાર્ય-ઉચ્ચારાત્મક જ છે તેને શાન્ત ઇટલે
અનુચ્ચાર્ય કહેવો એ વદતોવ્યાપાત જેવું છે. આ અશાન્તિ ઉપજાવનાર દ્રુત લયે
ચોલાતો અક્ષર ઇંગેજીમાં છે નહિ.”

In this short treatment Mr. Keśavalāl Dhruva has success-
fully concentrated one part of the case against
the silent અ. What he has not touched is the
factor of accent, or rather want of accent, af-
fecting this sound and the consequent illusion.
But he has fully emphasized the factor of દ્રુત
utterance of the અ. He points out that the અ in Gujarātī is
uttered in the મધ્યલય i. e. neither slow nor quick, but at the end
of words or of portions of words it is uttered દ્રુત, quick; (here
under પદાંશ, portions of words, may be indirectly perceived the
factor of accent, though insufficiently); that this દ્રુત utterance leads
certain scholars to call it silent relatively to the words uttered
in the મધ્યલય; but that it is a contradiction in terms to call that
a silent sound which, being a vowel, is in its very nature uttera-
ble. He adds that this quick અ is not known to the English
language.

The late Navalarām Lakshmirām regards⁶⁸ only the final અ
not as silent, but as good as dropped and says
the consonant before this અ is virtually uttered
without the અ. This view steers clear of the
contradiction involved in the expression ‘silent,’
yet it errs in one particular, viz. in regarding the અ as dropped,
not uttered. Kavi Narmadāsankar⁶⁹ regards the અ in the second
syllable of a word (be it a final syllable or non-final) as measuring
more than a consonant in time. taking a consonant as of $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā
and such a vowel as of $\frac{3}{4}$ mātrā. This appreciation of mātrā-value

68. Navala Granthāvalī, Part III, P. 13.

69. Narma Kośa, Mukha-Mudrā. P. ૭-(૪).

is fairly near the mark the अ, not being silent, yet quick like, may be given more than ½ and less than one *matrī*. Neither Navalarim nor Narmadaśankar perceives the influence of accent, or want of accent in this problem

Let us return from this rather lengthy but important digression and resume the original question of the *utsarga* regarding these endings prevail also in Marathi and Hindi with this slight difference that in Marathi the masculine ending is आ and the neuter ending is ए (for the Gujarati ओ and उ respectively) and in Hindi the ending is आ for masculine as well as neuter nouns—only in Braja Hindi the endings are ओ and sometimes औ (Of course the other ending अ is also found in M as well as H) For example—M घोड़ा, आवा, घड़ा &c (masculine), केल, सोन etc (neuter). H घोड़ा, घड़ा (masculine), सोना (neuter) also खटो=(G खाटु), राधे तेरो मरुखन खटो है, बड़ो—"कृष्ण बड़ो यजमान, हमारो कृष्ण बड़ो यजमान" (masc), Braja विचार कियो (Extract at P. 123 of Dr Bhindarkar's Philological Lectures).

[So far, then, this *utsarga* would fall under Class B (*utsargas* shared with other vernaculars), but with a slight variation. However, as ओ and उ are a feature prominently distinctive of Gujarātī I have preferred to put this *utsarga* under Class A (*Utsargas* peculiar to Gujarātī only)]

The आ ending is the result of क (अक) taking the form अभ *Apabhramśa* has this आ also (Si-Hc-VIII-iv-329) —

(1) दोहा सामला धन घपावणी।
 (2) मा कर दीहा माथु।
 The आ ending anticipated in *Apabhramśa* are instances. The second instance gives the आ in दीहा and उ in माथु

Thus the process which reduces अभ to आ is really anticipated in the *Apabhramśa* stage.

Perhaps the truest explanation of the आ ending proceeding

Dr. Bhândarkar's explanation of the ending; the truest explanation.

from अक is that given by Dr. Sir R. G. Bhândarkar in his Lectures Pp. 152-156. It may be summarized thus:—

When a final vowel is preceded by a vowel, the first vowel is accented and consequently it is lengthened and the final vowel dropped; e. g. मौक्तिकं-मोक्तिअं-मोती &c. (See the *utsarga* about this treated by me *infra*, Lecture IV, section II *utsarga* 19). When the first vowel in the final स्वरगुणम् is अ, the same principle works and अओ-अउ result in आ, घोहओ-घोहउ-घोडा (M.).

I am inclined to make a slight variation in Dr. Bhândarkar's analysis of this phenomenon yielding the आ ending. He puts the lengthening of the अ first and the dropping of the उ afterwards.

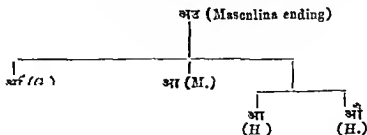
A slight modification of his analysis suggested. I would reverse the order; the उ is dropped first and the अ is lengthened in consequence of the dropping of the final vowel, the object being to preserve the quantity, a principle at work in phonetic changes in similar conditions in other cases, e. g. on the simplification of conjuncts, weakening of the *anusvāta*, and the like the preceding vowel is lengthened to preserve the quantity (कम्म-काम; सिंचइ-सींचे etc.).

| | | | | | |
|----------|-------|---------|-------|------|------|
| मौक्तिकं | (Skr) | मोक्तिउ | (Ap.) | मोती | (G.) |
| पानीयं | „ | पानिउ | „ | पाणी | „ |
| लोहितं | „ | लोहिउ | „ | लोही | „ |

and many such instances support this principle.

The principle of बीजलाघव secured in the analysis suggested by me.

This analysis secures बीजलाघव, whereas that giving अक-अअ-आ does not secure it as there will be two बीजस, अउ, अअ. Thus—



(Hindi, it will be seen agrees with M in the आ ending and very nearly agrees with G. in the औ ending which is really pronounced as औ very nearly).

It will be seen from the above diagram that we discover here a common factor (अउ) in all the evolutions (ओ-आ-औ), whereas if अम were accepted as the precursor of आ, there would be no common factor and अम would partly cover M and H (one phase only) and अउ would cover G and H (the other phase). Thus Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi in the matter of these forms, would be etymologically incommensurable so to put it.

[It will be observed that this is not an attempt to bring under चीजराय the phenomenon artificially, but it is simply an act of discovering चीजराय in principles which are found at work independently.]

I have mentioned the अम principle as the precursor of the आ ending, not because I accept it, but simply as it is advanced by certain scholars as a tentative solution.

However the strongest point against the अम analysis is that अम (from अक) cannot exist as such without the nominative singular case termination for the base words in the vernaculars are derived from the Sanskrit and Prākṛit words plus this case-termination. Consequently अम must pass on to अमो अउ.

A closer analysis of the ओ stem will show that the word ending in ओ is really the form of nominative singular and it is by a constant habit, as it were that it has taken the place of a base-word. For just see घोड़े turns the final ओ into आ in its inflectional forms घोड़ाने, घोड़ापी, घोड़ाउ, घोड़ामा घोड़क (Skr), घोड़उ (Pr), घोड़ो (G) - here the ण becomes उ through the elision of क and the change of अ into उ thus retaining the nominative termination inherently. Before ने, पी, &c., it is not the अउ or ओ that is changed to आ but the true phonetic core is घोड़क-घोड़अ+ने पी etc and thus the अम (without the nominative termination) becomes आ (घोड़ाने etc etc). घोड़ेपी need not present any difficulty, for it is the combination of the locative घोड़े and the ablative termination, पी

(This आ, be it remembered, is not the stem आ of Marāṭhī and Hindi (घोड़ा) which, as just shown above, is from the nominative ending in अकः-अउ.)

It will be noticed that the उ ending of Apabhramśa turns to अ in Gñjarāṭī (हयु, हाय; कणु, कान; &c.). There is however, only one exception, of a limited nature; प्रियः (Skr.), प्रियु (Ap), gives प्रियु as it is to Gujarāṭī, but it is entirely confined to poetry. I am inclined to regard it as a Hindi *tatsama* (to copy Dr. Teggiani's happy method of nomenclature), i. e. प्रियु is taken bodily from Hindi poetry, without any farther phonetic change. Gujarāṭī prose, much more the Gujarāṭī language of every day use, does not recognize such a word as प्रियु.

When we remember this evolution of the ओ ending, we can see why words ending in ओ, but borrowed from English cannot turn the ओ into आ before case-terminations. For example, the genitive of फोटो (photo), कोको (cocoa) and the like will be फोटोउं, कोकोउं &c. and not फोटोआउं, कोकोआउं &c., as some people ignorantly say. A small indication may be seen in the fact that the final ओ in the case of these words is not the अपविवृत ओ derived from an original अउ. जळोउं दु.ख आ तळवमां बहु उ; गळोउं सरव ताजनी उपर साउं,—in these cases also the reason why ओ is not changed to आ (जळोउं-गळोउं) is that their final ओ is not the अपविवृत ओ and it is not evolved from the अक ending; जलोका-जलोआ-जलो; गुहची-गलोई-गळो;—this course will explain the difference in results.

(The phenomenon of turning the suffix into a part of the stem is found in other languages also; e. g. Finnish turns the suffix s (equivalent to a definite article) into a part of the stem itself. See Sweet's History of Language, Temple Primer v. 118).

The only exception is found in monosyllabic words, like मा. प्हा (dawn) &c. which retain the आ unchanged before case terminations; मानी बात नथी (not मानी); प्हाति not प्हाउं.]

The M. ए ending is derived thus:—

कदलकं-कयलयं-कालयं-कोलयं-कोट्टे; i. e. the ए is derived from the अयं. Thus while अक gives to Gujarāṭī ओ-उं through अउ-अउं, it gives to Marāṭhī आ-ए through अउ and अयं; and to Hindi आ

through अउ. The अ comes straight from *Apabhramśa*, the अउ analysis being a feature behind the अ of *Apabhramśa* itself. It is curious that while Marāṭhī owes the अ to *Apabhramśa*, the ऐ must be referred to the main Prākṛit in अय. (*Apabhramśa* would be अउ). Dr. Sir R. G. Bhīndārkar has shown lucidly this genesis of the ऐ ending at P. 157 of his *Lectures*.

[It may be observed incidentally that this ऐ in the nominative singular of neuter gender words in M. has an अर्धविवृत sound. Similarly the form of the plural number, neuter gender, of words ending in अ in M., also has the final ए अर्धविवृत; e. g. वज्रटक-वज्रटक-वांरु (M.), फळ (sing.)-फळें (plur.). These are the only two types which furnish an exception to the general rule that M. does not possess the wide sound of अ and आ. This should be remembered when reading the discussion, already gone through, on the wide sound of ि and उ.

If I am right, modern writers of Marāṭhī literature, when representing the exact sound of this अ as put into the mouths of particular characters, e. g. women, use the symbol अय (= अयै) for अँ e. g. केडयंगेलयँ. A comparison of the sound of ए in क or गे with that of the ए in हें in these words will at once present the contrast between the initial ए, which is narrow, and the final ए, which is semi-wide.]

[It may be added that the अँ of the neut. plur. comes from Skr. आनि, Pr. आइ, while the अ of the nom. sing. (neuter) comes from the Skr. अकं, Pr. अय; thus:—फळानि-फळांइ-फळइ-फळयँ-फळें; कदलक-केडयँ-केडयँ-केडें.]

I have hitherto spoken of the ओ and उँ endings of words in Gujarātī derived from Sanskrit and Prākṛit. There are, however, many words in Gujarātī derived from Persian which have the ओ and उँ endings as also some which have the अ ending. The determining factor in their case cannot be the क termination, such a termination being foreign to Persian. In the case of such words the source of the endings is to be traced through the

The ओ and उँ and अ endings of words derived from Persian and Arabic, their genesis different from that of words derived from Sanskrit and Prākṛit.

Hindi ending, आ, which Urdu in its popular form has taken up, and the analogy of which has altered the Persian words ending in अह् give the ओ or उ ending, those ending in a consonant give the अ ending in Gujarati the ओ or उ ending (masculine and neuter, as the word may be used in Gujarati) while Persian words ending in a consonant take the अ ending in Gujarati

Examples —

ओ ending and उ ending —

| Persian | Guj | Persian | Guj |
|------------------------|--------|------------|--------------------|
| पदेह् | पदो | मुदेह् | मडु ⁷⁰ |
| प्यादेह् | प्यादु | खजानेह् | खजानो |
| महारेह् | महारि | रानेह् | रवाड |
| तेजानेह् ⁷¹ | तेजानो | दीवानेह् | दीवानो |
| दगलेह् | दगलो | नामेह् | नामु ⁷² |
| बागुचेह् | बागीचो | झनानेह् | जनानो |
| गालीचेह् | गलीचो | खरीतेह् | खरीतो |
| | गालीचो | जामेह् | जामो |
| रीझेह् | रेजो | दानेह् | दानो |
| (= a piece; broken) | | A. नगारेह् | } नगरं |
| कहवह् | कावो | P. नगारह् | |
| तकिपेह् | तकिपो | आवखोरेह् | आवखोरो |
| शीशेह् | शीसो | प्यालेह् | प्यालो |
| हिस्तेह् | हिस्तो | नजलेह् | नजलो |
| मोहलेह् | महेलो | | |
| | महेलो | et cetera. | |

70 This word cannot be traced direct from Skr मृत्कं-मडकं-मडु, for the final ड can be accounted for properly by the द in मुदेह्, this द may be allied to the द in Skr मृत्. This view is better than the one which would trace मडु thus—मृत्कक-मडक-मद-मडु.

71. तेजानेह्=a pungent thing that smarts on the tongue

72. If नामु is traced from नामक-नामव, this word will have to be excluded.

[NOTE—The अर्धविकृत sound of the ओ ending in these cases is due to the analogy of the words derived from Prākṛit, i. e. the *Apabhramṣa* अउ.]

कुशादेह has come almost⁷³ unchanged as कुशादे into Gujarātī, and may be regarded as a Persian तत्सम. The rarity of the use of this word explains the absence of the ओ ending.

In rare cases, a final अ in Persian gives the ओ ending in Gujarātī.

A final अ in Persian gives the ओ ending in Gujarātī, in rare instances, on the analogy of Urdu and Hindi words ending in अ and their sources

| S. | G. |
|-------|-------------|
| दाना | दानो (=wāo) |
| दरिया | दरियो |

[NOTE:—This is evidently due to the analogy with the Urdu ending आ in cases of Persian अई ending and consequent identification of the two. Similar misconception is at the root of the Persian अई turning into आ in Gujarātī; viz. that Urdu turns अई to आ and Hindi turns Skr. अ: to आ, and अई and अ. appear similar, therefore the misconception that all आ endings must be traced to अ: (even if अउ do not result) and ओ arrived at finally.]

A few Arabic words ending in अउ turn into words with an ओ ending in Gujarātī:—

A few Arabic words ending in अउ give the ओ ending in Gujarātī; sometimes a final ain gives the ending.

| A. | G. |
|----------|---------------|
| मोहावरख | महावरो-महावरो |
| मुकाबलत | मुकाबलो |
| मुबादेल् | मोबदलो |

(M. मुवादल).

Sometimes a final "ain" (अयन्) turns into ओ in Gujarātī.—

| A. | G. |
|---------|--------|
| अख्तर'अ | अख्तरो |

अ ending:—

73. "Almost"—because the ह is dropped.

| 74 P. | G. | P. | G. |
|--------|-------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| मई | मरद | फक् | फरक |
| दर्द | दरद | शूखार् | शुखाळ |
| रुमाळ | रुमाळ | फिक् | फिकर |
| बाग् | बाग | विरंज (rice) | विरंज (a special preparation of rice) |
| | | बादाम | बदाम |
| अंजीर् | अंजीर | गुलकंद | गुलकंद |
| गुलाब | गुलाब | वरफ | वरफ |
| गाग्र | गाजर | पेच | पेच |
| मेख | मंख | हुरज | हुरज |
| मुनसफ | मुनसफ | ताकीद् | ताकीद् |

(So also इनसाफ, दाद, इरखास्त, अदाळत, वकील, वकालत, मारफत, सरच (सर्च), केफ, लाड, जान (=life) माळ, इरकत, लगाम; etc. etc.)

There are a few exceptions to the rule given about Persian words:-

*A few exceptions
to the rule about
Persian words —*

P. or A.

G.

1 मव्ज्

मोजो (=a wave)

2 बिस्तर

बिस्तरो

3 मुर्रेड्

जरा

Here 1 and 2, though not ending in अर् but in a consonant, yield words with an ओ ending in Gujarâtî, while No. 3, though ending in अर्द् yields not a word with an ओ ending, but one with an आ ending, the reason in this last case is that primarily the word is an indeclinable and then used as an adjective, but अविकारी adjective, i. e. one not subject to inflectional changes of the vowel ending.

P. पहल- G. प्हेल (=a facet of a prism) is a rare case of a word ending in उ changing into one with an अ ending. But no

74. The list that is covered by this heading contains several words of Arabic origin, but as they are to be found in Persian also, they are not discriminated separately.

separate rule is necessary for this, because it can come under the principle underlying the *utsarga* (to be dealt with just below), which notes the change of a final *as* also non-final *u* of Skr. and Prāk. words into *अ* (e. g. मयु (Skr.-मय (G.)); विषु (Prāk.=without) -विण (G.) &c.).⁷⁵

[NOTE.—There is an *utsarga* about feminine nouns ending in *अ* in Gujarātī, but as it is shared by Gujarātī along with other languages, it will be dealt with under that class.]

UTSARGA III.

The change of non-final इ-उ to अ.

The *utsarga* is peculiar to Gujarātī alone; for where G. has

Utsarga III. The change of non-final इ-उ to अ. It is a peculiar feature of Gujarātī.

कउण (Skr. कठिन) M. has कठिण,⁷⁶ H. has कठिन,

where G. has માણસ, (Skr. માતૃપ), M. has માણસ.⁷⁶

Other vernaculars also are unlike Gujarātī in this matter, for although stray instances of this change may be shown by them, the principle

75. I owe a great deal of the information about Persian and Arabic given in this treatment to Mr. Krishnalāl M. Javeri's paper contributed by him to the Third Gujarātī *Sāhitya Parishad*, entitled *પેટલાક ફારસી શબ્દો* (See the Report of the said *Parishad*); and to personal guidance by him.

76. Marāṭhī scholars insist on lengthening the *इ* and *उ* in such cases; but the very fact that in some cases the vowel *अ* (if not *इ* also) is changed to *अ* in inflected forms would show that the *इ* and *उ* should really be short. For instance, માણસ-માણસ (Accusative-Dative). Dr. Sir R. G. Bhindīrkar has an elaborate defence of the view (just dissented from by me) at Pp. 137-139 of his Lectures. The whole argument hinges on the theory that certain vowels are pronounced short or long, although they are the opposite in writing, e. g. in જોડા, મેઝા, શેનાસ, હાતાસ, કાનાસ, &c. the first vowel is pronounced short (as compared with the same vowel pronounced long in રત, મેઝ, પોર, મોર, હસ, કાન &c.), and in ગુણ, ગુઝ, લિઝ, રપ &c. the first vowel, and in મરન the second vowel, is pronounced long (and so ગૂઝ, લીઝ &c. is the Marāṭhī spelling). With due deference I submit that this ingenious contention can be met by the argument that the feeling of length or shortness is a mere *આમાસ* (an imaginary sensation) created by the presence or absence of accent, which is the real fact.

applies to Gujarātī alone on a large scale ⁷⁷ A real test instance must therefore be taken, e g. the most commonly used root, मिद् (Skr.) gives मळ्ळ G, but ह्ये मिलना H, मीळणें M, and मिद् similarly in other languages. So also G. पडीं (Skr. पुट्कं-पुटी), but H. and M. पुडी. For रद् M. as well as G. (also H.) have रद् ⁷⁸ but it represents exceptional instances (cf. पुलन Konkani, पुलिन Skr.). It is this peculiar feature of Gujarātī which gave rise to the laugh against the Gujarātīs in the shape of the verse —

तुटसी तटसी जातो मुहन्दोऽपि मकन्दकः ।
गुर्जराणां मुखं प्राप्य दिवोऽपि श्वतां गतः ॥

The *utsarga* now under consideration is only a part of a system of *utsargas* which may be conveniently grouped here —

It is a part of a system of five Utsargas. These are stated illustrated

(a) A final इ is changed to य,

(1) when preceded by a vowel,

(2) when preceded by a consonant

(b) In the case of (n)-(2) the ए is lost leaving अ alone —

(1) in Sauratī Gujarātī, invariably,

(2) in Gujarātī proper, frequently,

77. The opposite tendency even in Mīravādī which changes even the अ to इ (किवाड for कमाड, किन्या for कन्या, खिमा for खमा (खमा), etc.) would further isolate Gujarātī in this respect (See Dr. Tessitori's "Notes" Chap. I, P. 4, where this is noted as one of the chief characteristics of Mīravādī).

(Indian Antiquary, April 1914, P. 55, last ten lines)

78. I do not derive रद् from रद् Skr. for the obvious reason that the meaning is different, and the change of उ to अ is widely prevalent, and the change of द् to ढ not unfrequent. रद् is found in *Apabhramśa*: अम्मा लम्मा हुंरिदि परिह रदन्तड जाइ ! अम्माणि लम्मानि पर्वते पधिको रदन् याति (S. He. VIII-iv 445, illustration) The *Dodhaka vrittī* (a Sanskrit translation of *Apabhramśa* quotations in *Siddha Hemachandra*) renders रदन्तड by रदन्. If रदन् is the correct rendering, the change of उ to अ (and of द् to ढ) must be regarded as having begun earlier than this quotation. The *Dodhaka vrittī* was written before V. S. 1672, the date given as that of copying it (or writing it?).

- (c) A non-final इ is changed to अ, when preceded by a consonant; and, in rare cases, to य,
 (d) A non-final इ is changed to य when not accented, and when it is preceded by a vowel,
 (e) A final as well as non-final उ is changed to अ, when preceded by a consonant.

Instances —

(a)-(1)-

| | Skrt. | Pr. | G. |
|---|-------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| इ changed to य when preceded by a vowel | गौ | गाई-गाइ ⁷⁹ | गाय |
| | माता | माई-माइ ⁷⁹ | माय |
| | करोति | करइ-करय् | करे |
| | भवति | होइ-हुवइ-हुवइ | हयि |
| | कोऽपि | कोवि-कोइ | कोय (or कोइ also). |

(a)-(2)-

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | अक्षि | अक्खी अक्खि | आंख्य |
| Do, when preceded by a consonant. | ग्रन्थि | गंठी गंठि | गांख्य |
| | रीतिः | direct | रीत्य |
| | वर्तिः | वट्टी वट्टि | वात्य |
| | जाति. | direct | जात्य |
| | | (desya) छही छहि | छात्य &ca. &ca. |

(b)-(1)-

In the above, the य dropped in Saurāṭī Gujarātī

In Saurāṭī Gujarātī the above-mentioned words would be आंख, गंठ, रीत, बाद, जात, छल etc.

(b)-(2)-

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|-----------|-----|
| | वही | वेही वेहि | वेळ |
| also frequently in Gujarātī proper | गाही | गाही | गाळ |
| | पाली | पाली | पाळ |

79. Before becoming य the long ई must become short, or else the accent on it will bar the change to य

Wherever इ-उ, ई-ऊ are mentioned they must be understood to represent the lengths (short or long) belonging to them, तत्परस्वत्काव्य, the सञ्ज्ञा of Pāṇini's being accepted without the affix य

| | | |
|--------|--------|------|
| वटिः | वडी | वड |
| वर्तरी | वत्तरी | वातर |

(पाठ्य, केव्य are also used, and may be regarded as optional forms)

The व् is lost *generally* when it is joined to इ, ए, ऐ, औ, with which it cannot be pronounced with ease

There are cases in which although joined to letters with which व् could be pronounced with ease, it is lost —

| | | |
|--------|--------|-------|
| वृद्धि | वृत्ती | वृत्त |
| भगिनी | वहिणी | वहन |
| गोणी | गोणी | गूण |

(optionally वृण्य)

[NOTE — This वृण्यप्रत्यय वकार (आख्य, गान्ध, etc.) is specially

confined to Gujarati, Marathi, for instance, has
This word वकार
is confined to Guja
rat, Marathi has
अ in the place
 अ only in such places Further, the वृण्यप्रत्यय व
 is visible in the imperative second personal
 singular of verbs ending in consonants in Gaja
 rati — e.g. आव्य लख्य, etc. Surati Gujarati of course, drops it —
 आख, आन, लख etc. Compare the well known hit at this feature of
 Surati speech in Dalsapatram Kavi's pointed lines beginning—जो नी
 पेडु छ छ यार, तापीनरे ओरारे, जोनी &c. where he uses छे—राख for राख्य
 implying a pan on राख (=ashes)]

Non final इ is changed to अ

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------|---------|-------|
| (c) | वडिन. | वडिण | वडण |
| अजनाइचा जेल to अ | हरिण | हरिण | हरण |
| | आश्रय | अच्छरिण | अचरण |
| | हस्तिनी | हस्तिणी | हापणी |
| | गर्भिणी | गर्भिणी | गाभणी |
| | दादिम | दादिम | दादम |
| | तिळ | तिळ | तळ |

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| સદૃશનં | સરિસં | સરસું ⁸⁰ |
| વિનયકઃ | વિણઅડ | વનો ⁸¹ |
| લિલ્લતિ | લિલ્લ | લલે (હે) |
| મિલતિ | મિલ્લ | મલે (હે) |
| ચિનોતિ | ચિણ્ણ | ચણે (હે) |
| વર્પંતિ | વરિસ | વરસે (હે) |
| વર્પઃ | વરિસ | વરસ |
| આદર્શકઃ | આઅરિસડ | આરસો |
| આદર્શઃ | આઅરિસ | આરસ |
| ઋણ | રિણ | રણ (in રણડોડ) |
| વિષમકં | વિસમડં | વસમું |
| વિરુદ્ધકઃ | વિગટ | વગડો ⁸² |
| વિમર્શનં | વિમાસયુ | વમાસણ |
| વાણિજ્યં | વાણિજી | વણજ |
| વિના | વિણુ | વણ |
| સ્થિતકઃ | ધિયડ | ધયો ⁸³ |
| વિરૂપકઃ | વિરુવડ-વિરુવડ | વરયો |
| તૃપા | તરિસા | તરસ |
| તૃણક | તરિણડં | તરણું |
| વિક્રયકઃ | વિક્રઅડ | વવરો |
| સ્વરિતં | direct-તુરિત | તરત |
| નિપાનઃ | નિવાણુ | નવાણ |
| (<i>Dīḡa</i>) વિટાલ | | વટાલ |
| (") વિદ્યાળડં | | વદાણું-વદાણું |

80. સરસું=alongside, in close contact with. The meaning is evolved thus સદૃશ=alike, two things are *felt* alike when put together side by side, hence સરસું=side by side

81. "વનો વેરીને વણ કરેછે મન ય મોષો મોરે રે" Navalarām, *Bāla Garabārālī* P. 47, ('શિક્ષાસૂત્ર')

82. વગડો=a forest. The sense of વિગટ is modified to mean a "forest" just as મદન means firstly "difficult" and then "forest."

83. Kithirvādi has થિયો.

(*Dīḍya*) डडिदु

अडद

(") गिरिअडं (=अविशेषितं, unqualified) नयुं.

[NOTE:—This *utsarga* sometimes prevails in words derived from Persian; e. g. Par. बेचार (बे=not, without+चार=help; go)=helpless; G. विचारो-बचारो.]

In consequence of the बहुल्यधिकार this change is seen alternately also:—

विना (Skr.)

विण and वण (G.)

आदर्शः (Skr.)

आरसो also आरीसो,

अरीसो

सदृशकं (Skr.) सरिकखंडं (Ap.), सरखुं, also सरीखुं. (G.)

(सरीखुं is confined to poetry).

Optionally with सरखे, we sometimes find सरीखे (in poetry only); e. g. ध्योम फरता दीर ते मुज रथ सरीसा सांख्य्या

(*Kusuma-mālā*; मेघ, st. 10. 1. i. P. 90).

[NOTE:—The Persian (Arabic) word वगैरे gives वगेरे in Gujarātī. Those who write विगेरे do so through pure misapprehension as if वि were changed to य. They go on the false analogy of विना (Skr.) which gives वना in G.. Similarly वदाय is correct from the Persian, and विदाय is a wrong emendation.]

Non-final इ changed to य in rare cases:—

| In rare cases to य. | Latest Ap. or old Guj. | Guj. |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| | किम | कयम |
| | जिम | जयम |
| | तिम | त्यम |
| | जिदां | जयदां (In poetry) |
| | सिदां | सयदां (") |
| | सिदां | कयदां (") |
| | (जयदां, सयदां, कयदां | in prose) |
| जिवारइ | जिहारइ | जयहारै |
| जिवारइ | विहारइ | कयहारै |
| तिवारइ | सिहारइ | सयहारै |

पूर्णमा

पुण्णिमा

पूय्यम

नाभिः

नादी (+इ term.)

नाशदी (=the axle
of a wheel)

गोविन्दु (गोविन्दः Skr.)—गोव्यंद is found only in rare cases in Old Gujarātī literature; e. g.

(1) कृष्णरूपे गोकुलि अवतरियो
गोवरधन पर्वत करि धरियो
वरियु गोपी गोव्यंदो

(Padmanābha; a Ms., written in 1715 V. S.; Chhaganlal Vidyārām Rāval's article in the "Gujarātī" of 18th August 1911, reproduced in the *Gujarātī Śālā Patra*, XII, May number.)

(2) बालचरित्र गोव्यंद तणां

(Hori-Līlā of Bhīma Kavi, V. S. 1581,—Kāṇḍ XII, St. 1).

(Also in several other places in this same work).

प्रतिज्ञा (Skr.)—direct—प्रत्यज्ञा (in old Gujarātī literature; rare).

प्रत्यज्ञा पाळी आपणी

(Hori-Līlā, Kāṇḍ VIII, st. 59.)

For the nature of this य in प्रत्यज्ञा see *infra*, Lecture IV, section II, *Utsarga XVIII*, Note (b).

[NOTE:—The large number of instances under this head, as also, in the case of non-final उ changed to अ Gujarātī, Marāṭhī and Hindi contrasted in the matter of the *utsarga* as specially peculiar to Gujarātī. This speciality is in contrast to Marāṭhī particularly and hence the Marāṭhī Brāhmaṇas had a fling at the Gujarātīs in the already quoted stanza, तुलसी तलसी जातः &c.. The peculiarity is foreign to the genius of Hindi, in spite of a few stray instances where इ is changed to अ. Thus परमाणा, परलैया change the इ of परिक्व (परिद् Skr.) to अ in Hindi; and Hindi has भूत for विभूति; but words like मिलना, लिखना, &c. which are peculiarly Hindi in their retention of the इ, as also the reverse change of अ to इ in words like गिनना (H. for गण्)=to count, indicate the genius of Hindi in favour of इ. This is the case with Māravāḍī also where, as noted in the beginning of this

utsarga (see n. 77) the reverse process obtains. Thus this change of इ to अ (and उ to अ) is pre-eminently peculiar to Gujarāṭi against all other kindred vernaculars.]

(d) Non-final इ, unaccented and preceded by a vowel, is changed to अ.

Non-final इ, unaccented and preceded by a vowel, changed to अ. This is the *utsarga* about *prati-samprasāraṇa* already stated in working out *UTSARGA I* above. I need not repeat the instances, कयिल, पयइ &c..

[NOTE.—The अ in these *utsargas* represents अ+अ. How the अ comes in as an adventitious support is explained in an early part of this Lecture. See *supra*, P. 128 where the genesis of *prati-samprasāraṇa* is suggested.]

(e) A final उ is changed to अ.

Final उ changed to अ. मधु-मध; मृत्यु-(मुत्तु)-मर्ति; तर्कः-तक्क-ताक, गुरुः-गुरु (गुरु)-गर्दि; देवदारुः-देवदारु रु०-देवदार; विना-विशु-विण-वण; etc. etc..

Non-final उ changed to अ.

| | Skr. | Apskhr. | Guj. |
|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Non-final उ changed to अ.</i> | अगुरु. | अगुरु | अगर |
| | सुदगरकः | direct | मगदळियो (after व्यत्यय). |
| | लघुककं | लहुअउं (metathesis-दहवउं) दळउं | |
| | आशुरकं (गई) | ⁸⁴ सासुरउं (घर) | सासरं |
| | मातुपः | ⁸⁵ माथुत | माणस |
| | त्वरितं | direct-तुरितं | तरत |
| | उपमासः | direct | अपवास |

84 Cf. *Dāṭi-Nāma Mālā*, VI 35 —पंथुच्छुदणी जा सामुराउ भागिअप वइ पडम. Here सामुराउ=आशुराउ=आशुराउ गृहाउ. Thus this लाक्षणिक sense seems as old as Hc-machandra for certain.

85. मनुष्यः would give मनुसी (see *S. II* VIII-1-43). माथुत is from मातुतः-विममाथुसेविच्छोदगह (Illustration to *S. II* VIII-iv-396)

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| स्मरति | सुमरइ | समरे (डे) |
| पुटं | पुडु | पड |
| पुदी | पुडी (क termination added, and gender changed) | पडीकुं |
| विशुस्तता | विजुलिआ | वीजळी |
| (Dīśya-विजुला Dēśi Nāma-Mālā III-24.) | | |
| ०पुटकं | ०पुडउं | ०वडुं (एरुवडुं, वेवडुं, तेमडुं, etc.) |
| (एकपुटकं, द्विपुटकं, त्रिपुटकं etc.) | | |
| आहुलकः | आहुलउ | आकळो |
| मकुणः | मकुणु ⁸⁶ | मांकण |
| | मंइणु | |
| सुहुटं | direct | सुगट |
| अहुली | अंगुली | आंगळी |
| पहुलकः | पंगुलउ | पांगळो |
| छनाति | छणइ | छणे (छे) |
| गुरुकः | गरुओ | गरवो |
| अतुलित | अतुलिअ | अतळी in अतळीवळ (Old Gujarātī poetry) |
| पृथग् | तुले | रहमे |
| स्वदीयकं | तुहारउं | तहारं then रहारं |
| गुप्पदीयकं | तुआरउं | रहमारं |
| निरूपकः | निरूपउ विरवउ | वरवो |

86. मकुण (Pr.) is used in *Dēśi Nāma Mālā* I, 96, उहुसे अ मकुणप; and at IV, 14 we see मकुणए डंकुणेंडकुण. Thus मकुण and महुण both must be alternative Pr. forms.

| | | |
|--------|------------|--------|
| धुरकः | धुरद | धरो |
| धुरः | } धुरिआ | खरी |
| धुरिका | | |
| | Dāya वडिदु | अडद |
| (") | जुअंजुअ | जुजवुं |

[NOTE:—In Prākṛit this change is noted in सुट्टलादिगण (*Str. III.*

This change traceable, in stray cases, to Prākṛit, Pālī and Sanskrit.

VIII-i-107) and optionally in धुरक (VIII-i-109). These are but limited instances, and do not mark the feature as characteristic of the language. Consequently this *utsarga* need not

be classed as an अवपूर्ति. All we should say is that the वीज—original principle—of our *utsarga* is to be traced in these cases of Prākṛit. Pālī has गर for धुर, so also in Sanskrit itself the comparative of धुर is गरीयम् and superlative गरिष्ठ; also the व turns to अ in the abstract noun गरिमन्. This phonetic change is thus traceable in principle so far back.*†]

A few exceptions may be noted:—

| | | |
|---|------|---------------------|
| <i>A few exceptions to the utsarga.</i> | रयइ | रये (G.), not रये |
| | सणइ | सणे (G.), not सणे |
| | धुणइ | धुणे (G.), not पणे. |

[This change in the case of non-final उ is peculiar to Gajarāṭi, and the remarks made on this feature regarding non-final इ apply to this also. Mr. Beames gives a few instances in Hindi e.g. बिजली, हुटम, छरंग. But the same remark applies here that I made regarding इ, as to the genius of Hindi being against this change.]

[When a final उ is preceded by a vowel, it takes the usual *pratisamprasāraṇa*—

87. Dr. Bhāndārkar gives a fairly long list (P. 141 of his *Lectures*) of Gujarāṭi words presenting this feature of changing इ-उ to अ. I may only point out that चवा for चिवा, गण for गुण, लळसी for लुळसी, given in the list are forms confined to the language of villagers. अजवाबो given in the list is evidently a mistake for अजबुं. I may also observe that, in view of the ancient origin of the tendency stated above, it is hardly correct to state that the Gujarāṭi people have acquired this habit owing to "careless pronunciation", as the learned doctor remarks.

| | | | | |
|-------------|---------|---------|---------|-------------|
| તહાગં | તહાડ | તહાડ | તહાડ | |
| નિર્વાહ: | નિર્વાહ | નિર્વાહ | નિર્વાહ | |
| વલ્લભ: | વલ્લહ | વલ્લહ | વહાલહ | વહાલમ્ વાલમ |
| [&ca. &ca.] | | | | |

Utsargas, the counterparts of 'Utsargas' (c) and (e).

There are two *utsargas*, which are the converse of (a) and (e) which may conveniently be noted here:—

(f) a non-final અ is sometimes changed to ઈ.

(g) a non-final અ is sometimes changed to ઉ.

Instances.

| | Skr. | Pr. or Ap. | Guj. |
|---------------------------|---------------|------------|--|
| Non final અ changed to ઈ. | (1). લવહ | લવંગુ | લવિંગ |
| | (2). પંજર | પંમરુ | પિંમર |
| | | | (only in દાદરિન otherwise પંમર from પંમરવં.) |
| | (3). અટકે | અંટકે | ઈંટકે |
| | (4). પ્રગલ્ભિ | પગલહ | પિગલે (હે) |

(No. 4 is taken from Dr. Bhandarkar's Lectures, P. 148. He gives this and ઈંટકે and says that Gujarati has not many more such instances.)

In these cases the અ is changed to ઈ under a possible misapprehension that ઈ must be the correct original. This must be so undoubtedly in the case of (1) and (2) and the tendency thus created would account for the remaining two instances. Or, it may be that Sindhi and Hindi which exhibit this characteristic of changing the અ to ઈ (as Dr. Bhandarkar has shown, Lecture Pp. 117-148) as also Marāṭhī, may have influenced Gujarati thus, but only to this limited extent.

There are other cases of the change of અ to ઈ in which, no

Similar change due to phonetic influence.

misapprehension but, a particular phonetic influence plays an active part. Such words are:—

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. | Guj. |
|-------|---------------|------------------|
| सहचरी | सहयरी | सहियर |
| वनचर. | वणयर | वणियर |
| | | (=the civet-cat) |
| शलाका | सलया-सलया | शळी |
| | सलिया | |
| | सलिया | |
| एकादश | एगारह-अग्यारह | अगियार |
| | अग्यार | |
| तलककं | तलयं | तळियं |

The phonetic influence here consists of the weak (ह्युप्रयत्न) य affecting its adjoining (preceding) अ so as to assimilate its स्थान to its own; just as a color-stuff that is not fast tinges the white surface about it with its own hue.

अगियार may be regarded as a case of स्वरभक्ति like इनियात्; (see Note A at the end of this Section), and in that case it may have to be excluded from the list. And yet, I should hesitate to do it, because, after all, the same principle operates in the case of अगियार, इनियात् as in that of वणियर, सहियर and the like.

(g) Non-final अ changed to उ.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--------|--------|--------------------|
| Non-final अ changed to उ. | तरङ्गः | तरंगु | तरंग ⁸⁸ |
| | गणिका | direct | गुणका |

The same kind of misapprehension plays part here as in the case of अ changed to इ in लिंग &c..

[This tendency is visible as far back as V.S. 1695 in which year was written *Karpūra-Manjarī Chaupai* by Matasāra (a non-Jain) the first line whereof runs thus.—

⁸⁹प्रथम गुणपति वीरवं गिरिपुत्र उदार ।

Here गणपति turns to गुणपति and गिरि to गिरि.]

88. वृंगि=a fitful thought, fancy, as it resembles a wave of the sea; a wave of thought.

89. Mr. Chinamlal D. Dalal's Report on Mes in the Pātana Bhandār, P. 39.

Bhāṣya also discloses this feature in the word उल्लु for अल्लो (Skr. अल्लोकः); see his *Kūḍambarī, Kaṣṭhaṭṭ VIII, l. 10*.

दा मोटे रंग्या नथी उल्लति ते ताहू चरण.

Note:—This feature finds scope in some words derived from Persian also:—

जवान

जुवान

जवानी

जुमानी

(These words do not come from Skr. युवन्. जौवन is, no doubt, derived from Skr. यौवन; but the words in point owe their form to the Persian source.)

UTSARGA IV

The verbal root-stem formation in Gujarātī.

Utsarga IV. The formation of the verbal root-stem in Gujarātī.

The verbal root-stem formation falls under several classes:—

- (1) The form which comes direct from the root, Sanskrit or Prākṛit, (with phonetic changes where operative);
- (2) The form which comes direct from the root, Sanskrit or Prākṛit, with the विकरण (conjugal sign) attached to it, (of course with phonetic changes where operative);
- and (3) That which comes from the Sanskrit क्तान्त (past participial) form by a reflex action; (through phonetic changes).

Let us take up each of these classes:—

- (1) These verb-stems are like वर, उम्, भई etc; and we need not spend much time over this class. It may be pointed out, however, that the operation of *Sr. II, VIII-15-239* and 240 (which give the आगम अ in front of every root ending in a consonant and optionally to all roots ending in any vowel except अ) opens a large field of Prākṛit

roots of the type of चर, पइ, भम्, हर, कर, भर, etc., thus virtually doing away with all विकरण other than that of the first conjugation,⁹⁰ except in cases specially mentioned in several *sūtras*, e.g. कृणइ (alternatively with करइ), चिणइ, लुणइ, सणइ, धुणइ, etc.

- (2) These are roots generally of the 5th conjugation (धुविकरण) or some times of the 9th conjugation (भाविकरण); e.g. .

90. Is it under the influence of this rule that Śāstrī Vrajāll in his *Utsarga-Māla* P. 103 (A. D. 1870) makes a wide statement which (questionably) includes Sanskrit verbal forms? He says:—

संस्कृतभां कृधातुने वर्तमान काळना एक वचननो ति प्रत्यय लागेछे पछी वचमां आठमा गणनो उ विकरण प्रत्यय मूकतां करोति एवं रूप धायछे. वैवाकरणनो (१ सि; वैवाकरणो) उ विकरणने गणकार्य गणीने कोश्वार तेने अनित्य मानेछे एटछे उ विकरण मूकता नथी अने पेहला गणना धारा प्रमाणे जेम भृ धातुनुं भरति एवं क्रियापद कोछे एम कृ धातुनुं करति पण कोछे अने करति=करइ=करेछे एवा तेना अपभ्रंश पण साधेछे.

Similarly, on the same basis, he has रोषति, भेदति, छेदति for रुणदि (he gives रुणति !), भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति. This is really difficult to swallow. In any case, the *sūtras* of Hémachandra stated by me are quite enough to secure the Gujarātī roots. It was not necessary, for this purpose, to resort to questionable rules of Sanskrit grammar whose applicability, if at all, is very limited. For, it is in the interpretation of Pāṇini, III-i-79 तनादिकृञ्म्यउः that this question of the *vikarana* being regarded as अनित्य (not invariable) is discussed by Nāgojibhatta; and perhaps Vrajāll Śāstrī had this in his mind. We need not go into this discussion needlessly; but the net result is that the mention of कृ specifically in the *sūtra* (although included in the तनादि *gana*) is to indicate the अनित्यत्व of the *vikarana*; (this would show that करति would be wrong, because कृ is specifically mentioned in the *sūtra*); that the object is to justify or defend occasional irregular forms like विशेद in “न विशेदविषस्तम्” and that the *Mahābhāṣya* disapproves the inclusion of कृ in this *sūtra* and विशेद would therefore be ungrammatical. If Vrajāll Śāstrī had taken the support of Vedic grammar, he could have based forms like भेदति &c. on Pāṇini III-i-85, व्यत्ययो बहुलम्. Perhaps the Prākṛit license in this respect is allied to this Vedic feature.

| Skr. | Pr. | Guj. |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| चिनोति | चिणइ | चणे (चण्) |
| शृणोति | सृणइ | सुणे (सुण्) |
| जानाति | जाणइ | जाणे (जाण्) |
| धुनाति-धूनाति | धुणइ-धूणइ | धुणे-धूणे (धुण्-धूण्) |
| छनाति | छणइ | छणे (छण्) |

[घू is transitive in Sanskrit but घूण (Guj.) is intransitive.]

It should be noted that this peculiarity of forming the vernacular root from the Sanskrit one with its विकरण attached to it, begins with Prākṛit itself. Perhaps the original process was nothing but the phonetic mutation of the full Sanskrit form i. e. चिनोति-चिणइ (न changed to ण), and the like. But there are two strong indications that चि+ण=चिण came to be regarded as the root:—

- (a) चिनोति does not give चिणोइ, but चिणइ; i. e. the व विकरण first sticks to the root, and turns into न in order to create चिण as a root with the अ आगम;
- (b) The ण appendage sticks to the root in Prākṛit in forms which in Sanskrit do not require the व or न विकरण, e. g. निणिऊण (=निरुवा).

See *Sr. III. VIII-iv-241* (Illustrations).

(3)—These are roots like the following:—

| Skr. root | चान्त form | Pr. | Guj. | G. root. |
|-----------|------------|----------------------|---------|--------------------|
| पच् | पक्कं | पक्कं | पाक्कुं | पाक् |
| लग् | लग्गं | लग्गं | लागुं | लाग् |
| जि | जित्तं | ⁹¹ जित्तं | जीत्तुं | जीत् ⁹¹ |
| वि+इ | वीत्तं | ⁹¹ वीत्तं | वीत्तुं | वीत् ⁹¹ |
| छिद् | छिन्नं | छिण्णं | छीन्नुं | छीन् |
| भञ् | भग्नं | भग्नं | भागुं | भाग् |
| मुच् | मुक्कं | मुक्कं | मुक्कुं | मुक् |

91. Although जीत्तुं refers to the conquered object, जीत्तं refers to the conquering subject.

प्राप्^{१२}

प्राप्तकं

पतत

१३ पदार्थ्यु

पदार्थ्यु^{१४}

पदार्थ्यु

The त remains unchanged abnormally in गितत and वीतत The sense of वीतकं is "gone, passed off" (Cf वीतराग), but वीत्यु (G) means—"experienced, for, what has gone, passed (to a man) is a thing experienced by him ग्दने शु शु वीत्यु ते कष्ट ("I shall relate what has befallen me ") of आपवतीती (one's own experience), परवतीती (another's experience) Generally वीततु refers to unpleasant experience

१२ Contrast पामतुं (G) which is from the Skr root direct प्राप्ति, Pr. पावद्, H. पावना, M. पावने, (व changed to म)—पामतुं=to get पद्वितु=to reach The change in the root stem is associated with the change in the sense

१३ पदार्थ is not used as a root पदार्थ्यु (although in use) is a link between पत and पदार्थ्यु.

१४. Mr. Beames (Vol I, Pp 276 and 343) traces H पद्वचना "to arrive from Skr प्राप्पूर्न "visiting This is obviously an error, and inexcusable, derivation the च and ण can never be connected mutually by phonetic affinity, to say nothing of other flaws in this derivation Mr Beames himself says (P 343)—"though I am not sure where the च comes from Well we know it comes from the त्व in पदार्थ्यु (from पत) In Vol III, P 65 he is very nearly on the right track but just stops dead in the middle and does not proceed to the final goal He says—"Some light may perhaps be thrown on the subject by some stems in the moderns ending in च, for as ज arises from द्त्तय, so च arises from द्त्तय He then goes on to भेज from भेदयति, भेषते, and वज from वापते, and then there is no further progress If he had brought to aid the fact that some verbal stems arise from the past participial form,—a fact of which he is fully aware and which he claims as his own discovery and accuses Dr Hoernle for not acknowledging it though this is a matter which every thinker on the subject has discovered for himself, (Vol III, Pp 37-39)—he would have got the right scent and bagged the quarry Missing the scent he has not succeeded in getting out of the forest of confusion created by his own imagination in the face of a bewildering variety of forms पद्वच, पद्वछ, (H) पद्वच, पद्वच (as he spells these, G) पूव, पुव (Māraṇīti), पद्वते (G *Adāḥḥyāna*, Prēmānand, quoted from by him—"नळ कहे नारदने प वराण भाव न पद्वते," *Kārya Dohana* II, 74), S पद्वचय, पद्वते The last form drives him to a wild guess, to him it looks 'as if it were from पत्तृय" (1), 'but, he lalts, "this will not

[दाश् can be traced in two ways —

(a) दग्धकं दद्वं दाधुं-दाध्युं

दाश्चुं-दाश्

(b) दध्यते-दध्यइ दासे (छे)-दाश्

If (a) is accepted the case will fall under class (3) if (b) is accepted it will fall under (1). I am inclined to favor the former analysis, (a), as the tendency in these forms is to form the root-stem through the कान्त by a reverse process; and also because दाधुं is visible in words like दाधारु (‘half burnt-like’, and hence ‘half mad’), besides, it has the analogy of लाधुं from लम् through लब्धकं, लद्धउ, लाध्युं, to support it.]

[दग्धकं-yields another root in Gujarātī, by the process of ध्यत्यय, or transference of the aspirate, दग्धक-धगउ-धग्यु (G.), धग्यु= to burn; e. g. धगधगतो अंगारो, धग्यो (Kāthiāvādi)=दाश्यो, got burnt.]

Some scholars may see in this धग्यु an indication in favour of the theory that the parent Aryan Language had roots beginning with medial aspirates, धग्, ध्यग् &c. for the classical दद्, द्यु &c.. But, as I shall suggest later on (Lecture IV section II, footnote 17), the aspiration of the initial consonant is due to a different cause altogether.]

[Note -A special feature in these cases may be noticed. The final य् in the Gujarātī past participle is derived from the इत् from account for the च'. For this he turns to an equally misdirected guidance (which he avowedly distrusts), and points to Dr Hoernle (Ind. Ant I, 358) deriving the word from the old H adverb षु “near and कर “make, assuming a change of क into च, also the same learned doctor’s tracing of प्रकार’ to call as the causal of पुग् which he says must have been पुक् anciently. Finally, Mr Beames returns to his own guess about शम्भू ‘a guest (not ‘visiting this time as in Vol I, 276) but again the difficulty confronts him as regards the च left unaccounted for. पुग् (also used in G, especially in Kāthiāvādi) can be easily traced from षोध्यु, षोध्यु (also in use some times through an excessive desire to avoid villagers language which has च, ची, चे for वय, कौ, के, cf वायु from वायु, वाधु, वादिउ, वादिकं where the same kind of misapprehension plays a part), and then क being softened into ग-पूग्

क, i. e. क prefixed by the इ used for सेद् roots; the इत् becoming इअं in Prākṛit, then ^{१०}इयं (through इत्तं-इयत्तं) in G. and यं. Thus लङ्गितकं-लङ्गियत्तं-लङ्गियं-लङ्गयं; etc.. In the case of अनिद् roots before क then, the य् is added in Gujarātī on the mere analogy of its सेद् past participles. Hence come भायं, लायं &c. from such possible, but hypothetical, forms as भगियत्तं, लगियत्तं; (भागियं, लागियं would be permissibly used in Gujarātī poetry). This is the origin of भाय् लाय् &c. being regarded as root-stems in Gujarātī, the य् having eventually taken the place of past participial termination. This principle of adding य् in अनिद् roots appears, as a rule, to obtain when the ending letter or the root is क्, ग्, त्, प्. (Cf. पायं, लायं, जीयं, लायं).

In Kāthiāvāḍa, or at least in the subdivision of it known as Sorāṣṭha, मायं, लायं, &c. (without the य्) are used as past participles. And the people of that province push the practice too far when they use वायं for वायं; for वायं is from वादितकं, वादियत्तं, वायं, वायं (य^{१०} to ज), then य् being changed to ज् generally by peasants, this ज् is put under a reverse process under a misapprehension and we have वायं, -वाय्; thus वायं owes its य् to the इअ termination, and it is not from any अनिद् condition as in भायं, लायं.

Similarly, as I have indicated in the last lecture in illustrating the principle of *False Analogy*, the Kāthiāvāḍis push their practice far in another direction by erroneously creating a root ऊय् from ऊयं under the misapprehension that it is a कान्त form of, a verb, whereas in fact it is from the adjective ऊर्ध्व; (S. II. VIII-ii-59). Only in one place do I find उभिय used by Hēmacandra (*Kumārāpāla-Charita*, VIII, 14), which may lend color to the idea

95. इयं still continues in poetry; e. g. बुद्धनो चदियो मीणो (Bhīmarao Bholanath, *Prithurāj Rāsā*, VIII, 4.) घनतिमिरे नम घेरियं रे (Ibid, VIII, 12). This indicates the link between यं and the क termination.

96. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar (P. 194 of his Lectures) believes ज् is from ङ alone (वाजयति Skr. M. वाजयिणे) because (he says) probably dentals turn to palatals when followed by य् (or व्). I think the view is not quite correct, so far as वाज् is concerned at any rate.

that it has a verbal sense. But the Sanskrit gloss gives ऊर्ध्व for it and not ऊर्ध्वहित or the like which shows that no idea of activity is intended in उर्ध्व a form not given in *S; Hā* at all, which must be regarded therefore as a mere variation of उर्ध्व rendered necessary by the requirements of metrical composition. In any case Gujarati proper has ऊर्ध्व and never ऊर्ध्व, which sets all doubts at rest.]

[Note -पाय is a verbal past participle from पक् (Skr. पच), and the G. √पाच is precipitated therefrom. But there is an अनिद् form पाकु in Gujarati which has a mere adjectival sense, 'ripe', -not-'ripened' or 'cooked', with hardly any verbal idea in the form.]

पर्वचिबु-The च of this root is seen in old works too, *Sāra Rasa* (V. S. 1603) has the line -

बीडુ खड रचु હૂ વલી । જે સુખતા પુહુચહ મન રલી ॥

This will indicate that the principle of adding ચ્ in the *જાન્ત* forms, even when अनिद्, was anterior to the 17th Century of the Vikrama era for the च could only be formed if रच had existed in पर्वचि (not पर्वति). It can be taken to a period still earlier, for *Kunlādade Prabandha* II, 99 has સાદિ થરસ વાવરતા પુહુચહ કણતણા કોઠાર, and this *Prabandha* was composed in V S. 1512.

There are some words like મૂલ્યો, દૂલ્યો, ચમક્યો etc, which come from *Dēya*, મૂલ્યો which is not quite a verb, more an adjective, ચુકિઓ also similar ચમકિઓ from Skr. चमकृत, which all may be given under this *utsarga* as they yield the root-stems મૂલ્ ચૂલ્, ચમલ્.

સક (from Skr. शुष्+च=शुष्क) is not used in Gujarati as an active root but સુકા (શુ)-'to be dried' is used passively. Evidently, સક as an active root has disappeared, though at some older time it must have been in use, as there is also a causal form still in use, સકવ (શુ)=to cause to dry.

Mr Beames thinks (Vol III P. 37) that verbs which create in the vernacular roots from the Sanskrit and Prakrit *જાન્ત* forms

are such as express positions of the body, states or conditions whether material or mental, and the possession of qualities. This description is so extensive and inclusive that very few verbs would be left out. Any how, it is no use examining the value of this statement, though this much may be suggested that the physical nature of the conjunct formed by the क termination has more to do with this kind of root-formation than the particular sense of the verb.

[I have treated this *utsarga* as one peculiar to Gujarātī, although Marāṭhī and Hindī exhibit a similar tendency, for only some of the roots above indicated are so treated by these languages. However, I should not seriously object to transfer this *utsarga* from this class A to class C.]

UTSARGA V.

The corpus of the Gujarātī Verbal Root:—Its Formation:

The Gujarātī verbal root forms its *corpus* in three different ways:—

(क) By adopting the Sanskrit root as it is, or through Prakrit or otherwise, with phonetic variations so slight that the kinship with the Sanskrit origin does not disappear;

(ख) (1) By co-alescing the Sanskrit root with some prefix (*upasarga*) or a dependant word in so complete a manner, as to create a new root-*corpus* altogether;

(2) By reducing the Sanskrit root to a form smaller than the original, and quite altered;

and (ग) By turning nouns (and some times adjectives) into verbal roots, without any appreciable alteration.

To take up these classes one by one:—Under (क) will come all the roots included in class (1) of the last *utsarga* (*Utsarga IV*). I need not repeat them here. But certain roots coming under this class require special notice. These are:—Roots of the type of रुहे, रुहे, रुहे, रुहे, &c. The question about this type is—what should be regarded as the root portion of a Gujarātī verb? There are three courses open to us:—

- (1) Take the imperative 2nd person singular, form as the root,
 - (2) Take the past participial form minus the य termination as the root
- and (3) Take the portion to which the potential passive participial termination અહુ is applied as the root

As regards (1) there is the difficulty presented by the य in the imperative second person singular form રહ્ય આવ &c. can not be accepted bodily as the root. Writers of Gujarati grammar under the influence of immature conditions created by the Educational Department during its early efforts ignored this य and adopted this form as the root રહ આવ, &c. Even then they forgot that રહ્ આવ &c. could be accepted as roots and not રહ આવ &c. for purposes of securing other conjugational forms e.g. હલે રહ્યું, can come from રહ્+એ રહ્+યુ, if રહ were taken a fresh rule would be necessary declaring that the final અ of the root is dropped before such terminations. There would be no harm in that, for if રહ્ were regarded as a root then in the cases of terminations like ને (future third person) it would be necessary to frame a rule that અ is added as an અગમ before such terminations. Such methods are necessary in grammatical constructions, and we must adopt a course which has the least inconvenience and which minimizes the difficulties of hard cases.

As regards (2) રહ્યુ આવ્યુ ચોલ્યુ &c. will under this method, give the proper roots રહ્ આવ્ ચોર but in the case of forms like કહ્યુ, રહ્યુ etc. the roots yielded would be કહ્, રહ્ et cet, which would require special rules for making forms like કહેહે, કહેશે, કહેતો કહેતુ etc.

The third course (3) presents the easiest solution. It practically agrees with the first course if the य of the termination were knocked off. This third course will give us the type represented by રહ્, ચોલ્ &c., as well as the type represented by કહે રહે &c. For રહ્યુ minus અહું=રહ્, and કહેતુ minus અહુ=કહે (The અ of અહુ would naturally disappear after the ए of કહે under the usual sandh rules.)

I therefore accept क्दे, स्दे, व्दे, as the type of the root I put them under class (क), in spite of the phonetic changes, because these are not such as to transform them beyond recognition and sever the kinship with the original Sanskrit roots

[Note -Persons wedded to the present day system created by the Educational Department, will prefer क दे छे, स दे छे, &ca., but the fact is that the अ in क स, &ca here is not pronounced full as that in the र, क &ca of लखेछे, पखेछे &ca in fact it is lost by the process-कदह्-कदभह्-कदभग-कद Of course those who prefer कदेछे are forced into pronouncing this type artificially by sounding the अ in क in full measure, which, however, is not true to facts]

Now, another type of roots —पी खा, ११धा, जा, जो, दे and the like must be classed in this class for पित्र्, खाद्, स्था या, जो १० (Pr. or Dêśya), दा etc are not distant from these Gujarati evolutes Nor would पीवुं, खावु, दीवु justify us in putting their roots in class (3) of the last *utsarga*, for the correct principle governing that class is that the चान्त form should be such as to transfer some part of the च termination into the root stem as in जीव् (जीव्यु, जितव), or in प्दाच् (पदाच्यु, पदाच, पत्तव) or it should be such as to give to the stem a change due to the च termination, as in लाम् (लाम्यु-लाम्यव-लाम्यक) etc

Finally १०हो (=to be) should be put under this class It

97 था has थवुं, but थ is not taken as a root, because थावु is even now found in vogue in Kithirivāla and furnishes a working basis for detaching था as the root

98 Dr Tessitori derives जो from जुत् conjecturally (See his 'Notes § 137, (2)) जुत्—घोष्यते—जोद्वज् च तितक—जाइमर्द—जोद्वं—जोत्तु—ज (O) these are plausible steps It is equally open to us to substitute जुवुत् for जुत् All the same the derivation must be left in the state of conjecture

99 The change of sense is remarkable सू (Skr) means 'to become' but हो (G) means 'to be' On the other hand स्था (Skr) = 'to stand', therefore it is like 'to be, but था (G) = 'to become' हवुं is past participle of हो, from भूत्क (Pr हूद), but direct हवुं हवु-हवु-हवु हवुं हवुं is also present participle from होवते-(Pr) ० ह भाम होवु (हवुं) नथी

comes from भू (Skr.), हु-हो (Pr.). The change of भू to हु is so palpable that the link between भू and हो is not snapped.

I take up class (ख)—(1) now. This contains a markedly notable group of roots. Such are:—

येस्, पेस्, वेद, पाम्, प्दश्चि, सौप्, ऊङ्, वगद्, आप्, वेच्, सताव्, समञ्, सांभर्, प्दर्, सृप्, आण्, आथम्, ऊग्.

It will be seen from the derivations noted below, that all these roots, originally composed (in Skr.) of the root plus an *upasarga* or prefix, have combined the two elements (Skr. root and prefix) so thoroughly as to constitute a compact single-shaped Gujarātī root.

| Skr. | Pr. | Guj. |
|------------|-----------------------|---|
| उपविशति | उवइसद्, वइसद्, बइसद्, | बसे, $\sqrt{\text{बसि}}$ |
| प्रविशति | पइसद् | पसे, $\sqrt{\text{पसि}}$ |
| विकिरति | विइरद् यइरद् | वेरे, $\sqrt{\text{वेरि}}$ |
| प्राप्नोति | पावर् पाँवर्, पामर्, | पामे $\sqrt{\text{पाम}}$ |
| प्राप्तवँ | पत्तवँ पहुत्तवँ, | पहुत्तवँ, प्दस्तिप्-प्दस्तिप्, $\sqrt{\text{प्दश्चि}}$. |

[NOTE:—पहुचइ (पहुचइ) noticed in the foregoing part of this Lecture (See P. 240 *supra*) as used in a seventeenth century work may lead one to think that पहुच् came by a process different from that of कान्त and the reverse process. But the च points to a त्य, which comes only from the कान्त in this case. It shows that this process of forming the root from the कान्त form began long before the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries of the Vikrama era.

The प्रथेप of हकार will be explained later on when dealing with the *utsarga* about हकार. It will suffice to add here that पत्तवँ gets the ह with an added उ, for some unknown but conceivably euphonic reason, and so we get पहुत्तवँ.]

| | | |
|------------|---------|--|
| समर्पयति | समप्पर् | सँवप्पर्,—सौपे, $\sqrt{\text{सौपे}}$ |
| उत्तिष्ठति | उट्ठर् | उठे, $\sqrt{\text{उठ्ठ}}$ |
| विघटति | विघटर् | विगटे (H.), वगटे; $\sqrt{\text{वगट्}}$ |

भायातकः आयाअउ (Ap.) आयउ, आयो (then व्-भागम-comes in and so) आयो, न्आव्.

[Note:—I may simply mention the fanciful derivation of आव् (G.) from आ+अव् (to go), as obviously based on mere external similarity, without any warrant of actual use.

The व् *āgama* may at first seem imaginary, but the following instances will show its correctness:—

(१) प्रोतकं (Skr.), प्रोयउं (Ap.), प्रोयुं, परोयुं, (G.) परोयुं, न्परोयुं (=to thread a needle);—(Pārsis have पोयुं, प्रोयुं by dropping the र and not introducing the *āgama* व्);

The following quotations will be enlightening:—

(1) वाळज म्हाणं कुटिल कटाशे प्रोयुं
(Dayācām; *Garabī-Sangraha*, Gujarātī Press Editloo; P. 197 Garabī 65, st. 2).

(2) रसिये वजाटी रंग वांसळी पांसळी म्हायी प्रोई
(Ibid, P. 214, Pads 102, st. 1).

(3) अणियाळी आंखे वाळम प्राण मारो प्रोयोछे
(Ibid, P. 172, Garabī 13, st. 1).

(4) माहारो प्राण तुमां प्रोवायो निमदिन रहेजो
(Ibid, P. 165, Garabī 3, st. 6).

(5) प्राण प्रोवायो छे तम तानमां बिहारीवाळ.
(Ibid, P. 187, Garabī 17, st. 7).

In (4) and (5) the form is passive; प्रो+आ+यो give प्रोवायो व् coming as an आगम. Here comes a first indication of the व् in परोवउं. (परोयुं-प्रोयुं-प्रोयुं).

(२) निश्चयितकं (Skr.), निचोइअउं (Ap.), निचोयुं (G.), न्निचोयुं

(३) रीस, from रस्यति, is a root, and रीस is the passive base of the G. verb. The past participle is रीसायो. But we find in old works रीसाव्यो, रीसाव्युं with the व् *āgama*.—

(1) “म्हाणं माणकडं रीसाव्युं रे सामळिया”

(जसोदासो विलास in *Premānandani Prasādi* P. 30.)

(2) “रवे स्वामी रीसाव्या” (*Īśvara-virāha*, Murāri; Dr. Kārya Dohana, VI, 468.)

(3) हूं ए रीसावूं पण मन नथी रीसावूं जो,
माटे तमो थनी बदतां नथी फावूं जो.

(Dayārām; *Garabī-Sangraha*, Gujarātī Press
Edition, P. 169, Garabī 6, st. 11.)

(Similarly कमाव्यो is used for कमायो by ordinary people sometimes.)

It may be noted that villagers say आयो for आव्यो; and very often the villagers' language is nearer the Prākṛit or Sāṅkṛit form than that of the city people.

Thus there is a fairly strong case for the derivation of आव given by me here. However there is one difficulty presented by an illustration in *Sī-Hī*. (I do not mean आइउ in the illustration to VIII-iv-432, and its r. l. आउइओ, which both can be somehow connected with आयतक; but) I mean the line अनउ करतहो पुरिसहो आवइ आवइ (अन्यापं दुर्यतः पुरपस्य आपद् आगच्छति), illustration to VIII-iv-400. The distinct form आवइ here points to आव as an earlier root-stem formed somehow, and it may possibly smash the derivation given by me. I must leave it in this stage for others having an advantage over me to decide.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar derives आव from Skr. आगत, Pr. आगओ. (See his *Philological Lectures*, P. 126). Even this will require the introduction of the adventitious ए, though he does not speak of it.]

(a) विक्रीणाति, विक्रे, M.वीक(तो), वेचे(छे), व्विच्.

or (b) विक्रीतकं, विक्रियं, वेच्युं—व्विच्.

[Sindhi has विकण as the root ((विकणयो=he sells.) It would, in that language, fall under class 2 of Utaarga IV].

It is not quite easy to decide which of the two methods of deriving should be preferred. There are arguments in favour of each, as also against. In (a) the च is possible because of the ए in के; but °क्रियं-°क्रियुं-°क्युं would be stronger, as क्य is changed to च very easily. In (b) the root वेच्, precipitated from वेच्युं, does not present any feature taken from the क termination. On the whole I lean in favour of (a).

| | | | |
|-----------|----------|-------|--------|
| संतापयति | संतावेइ | सतावे | √सताव् |
| संशुष्यते | संशुष्यइ | समसे, | √समम् |

[Beamer, I, 327 derives this from ध्यान (Skr.), साम (Pa. Pr.); it is on the face of it incorrect.]

Hindi समुद्रना furnishes a good indication (in the उ of सु) in favour of संशुष्य being the true source. हमको कहा उचित करियो है सो लिखियो समुद्रनाई (Mirā).

| | | |
|---------------------|----------|--|
| संस्मरति | संस्मरइ | सांभरं, √सोभइ. |
| परिहितकं | परिदियउं | परिदियउं (by व्यत्यय),— पर्युं √पृहइ. |
| समाग्रा(समाजिग्रति) | समग्यइ | सर्वेग्यइ-सजंघइ— सूंचे √सूच. |

[If सूच (G) is to be derived from शिच (शिचइ) (Skr.) by change of इ to उ (Pr. सिचइ-G. सूंचे), then this derivation from समाग्रा must be given up. However I hesitate.)

| | | | |
|-------|------|-----|------|
| आनयति | आणेइ | आणे | √आण् |
|-------|------|-----|------|

आयम्—अस्तमितः, अत्यमियो, आयम्यो. Here the चान्त form of इ (=to go) tacks on to itself the word अस्तम् which is really a separate word in the accusative case but loses that nature in transit, gets regarded as a prefix or rather as part of the whole root, and we have this canonically evolved root आयम्.

ऊग्—उग्रतः उगयो-ऊगियो-ऊग्यो. This shows how the root plus the *upasarga* merge into a new-formed Gujarāṭī root.

[विचिनोति विणइ वीणे √वीण्—is an instance which falls under this class i. e. *utsarga V*, ७ (1), as well as under class (2) *Utsarga IV* as it retains the विरुण and absorbs the *upasarga*.)

The co-alescing of the root with a dependent word is found in the case of लावयुं=to bring. It is compounded from ले and आवयुं-लेहं, लहं + आवयुं=लावयुं. This is clear when we compare लावयुं with H. लेआना or ल्याना. This composition is proved by the peculiar

voice formation in the past tense in the case of *હાર*, as contrasted with *આણ* (= *to bring* from *આ+ની* Skr) *હુ પાઈ લાવ્યો, મેં પાઈ આણી*, in the former the verb is in *કર્તેરિ* પ્રયોગ, although transitive and in the past tense (which is against the general rule viz that the past tenses of transitive verbs is in *કર્મણિ* પ્રયોગ), while in the latter the verb *આણી* (past tense, transitive verb) is in *કર્મણિ* પ્રયોગ. The reason is obvious although *હાર* is transitive, the component *હા* is intransitive, and naturally this principal root decides the પ્રયોગ it should take. Marathi has *આણ* only, and not *હાર* (for it has no root like *હે=to take* it has *લે(णे)=to take*). The result is that Marathi persons very often fail to perceive this distinction between *હાર* and *આણ* and a male would say *હુ ગારી હતીશું*! I have actually heard such expressions.

The contrast between the original Sanskrit forms and the final Gujarati root in the above instances will show at once how they justly fall under the description given for this class (સ)-(1).

Now, (સ)-(2) — Under this class, the root which attracts attention at once is that which would correspond to Skr. *अस्* (=to be), the root which gives *હે* (=is), we may call it *સ* for convenience.

The derivation of this verb has exercised scholars a great deal and no two scholars are agreed on the point. The following are representative views —

Dr Sir R G Bhandarkar derives this verb from *આસ* =to sit (His Lectures P 126) *આસ્તે* (Skr), *અચ્છદ્* (Pr), *-છદ્, -હે* (G). However, later on at P. 273 he leaves the question open between *અસ* and *આસ*, giving the weight of probability to the latter (*આસ*). Although this view has two weak points (1) the change of meaning from 'to sit' to 'to be', and (2) the learned doctor's own indecision between the two competing derivations, yet it has some points in its favour, viz —

- (1) The formation of *છ* for *સ* recognized by Hemachandra in his *Sātra* ગમિષ્યમાસ છ VIII-iv-215
- (2) Of the various places in which in *Kumārpāla-Charita* Hēmachandra uses this verb (as *અચ્છદ્, અછદિ,*

अच्छउं, अच्छउ, अच्छइ, अच्छहु), in two places the sense given in the gloss is that of स्था or वस् which may easily be equivalent to "to be", and in one place (VIII, 58) the gloss actually gives वस्ते as the equivalent, which is very near "to be."

However, against both these points there are considerations which weaken their force; thus, against (1) we have Kramadīvara's derivation of अच्छइ from अस् (=to be). See *Sanlshipta-sāra*, iv, 10 (referred to in Pischel § 480). And against (2) there is the view that after all Hēmachandra's *Kumārāpāla-charita* is but a work designedly written to illustrate his own *sūtras*; the quotations therefore cannot have the same value as those taken from independent literature.

Dr. Tessitori (following Pischel) derives the verb from Skr. ऋच्छ; ऋच्छति-अच्छइ. (See his "Notes" § 114). He refers to Pischel, §§ 57, 480. In a private letter to me dated 12th July 1915 he adheres to this etymology and says "अस्ति cannot give अच्छइ, but only अस्ति."—I may remark on this view that अस्ति, no doubt, would give अस्ति and not अच्छइ, but, as in the case of many Prākṛit roots, this one (अस्) may have been treated at some stage or other of the language under the unifying principle of reducing all roots with consonantal endings to the 1st conjugation, and thus we should start with अस्इ; then स् and स्¹⁰⁰ being phonetically allied (as in शक्य-(G.) छक्यो, पठः (Skr.) छट्यो (Pr.), मच्छर from मशर. &c. where the श and प must first pass through the स् phase (शपोः सः *St. III. VIII-i-260*), though not

100. Dr. Bhāndārkar has noted this phonetic change at Pp. 188-9 of his Lectures, also at P. 42 he notes the change of स् to स् in Pāli, but he regards this change as a direct one from स् and not through स् (which is the general substitute for स् and प in Pāli), though I am inclined to think that स् first became स् and then स्, especially as the sound of स्, स्, स्, स्, in Pāli (as in certain Prākṛits) was not full शक्य but अर्धशक्य (See *infra utarga* dealing with the Prākṛit sound of स्, स्, स्, स्).

given in the grammarians' works), अउइ and then अउइ also as will be shown below.

Then, the क of कच्छति would, in the ordinary course, be changed to रि, not to अ, under the general *Sūtra*, *Si. Hē. VIII-140*, which admits of only five exceptions (*VIII-1-141*) of which कच्छ is not one. It would require some strong reasons, as of actual use in works or some special conditions, to take कच्छ out of the general rule.

Next, the change of meaning in the case of कच्छ involves too violent a twist, or rather too wide a jump, for ordinary rules of construction. For कच्छ, according to Pāṇini, is used in the sense of (1) to go, (2) to fail in faculties, and (3) to harden, stiffen, thicken; (गतीन्द्रियप्रलयमूर्तिभावेऽपु-*Dhātupāṭha*). The only sense out of these three that can, with some faint possibility, be taken as a start towards "to be" is "to go"; and even between this sense "to go" and the sense "to be" there is a long jump.

Weber (*Hāla P. 41*) derives अउइ from Skr. गच्छति. Beames (*Vol. III, 181-2*) gives several passages cited by Weber in support of this derivation:

अउइज वा चिउइज वा निसिएव वा उपइज

(*Dhātupāṭha*, i, 411).

This is translated:—"Let him go, or stand, or sit down or rise."

This is an incorrect translation; निसिएव would be "let him lie down" (नि+शी=to lie down); and अउइज is not "let him go", but "let him sit down" from आसु=to sit (गमिष्यामासुः of Hēma-chandra cited by me before being the authority). Beames (*III, 181-2*) gives further quotations wherein अउइ shades off from "to stand" gradually into "to be" or very nearly "to be". In this connection the use of आसु-अउइ in Hēmachandra's *Kumār-pālā-Charita* pointed out by me above will be useful. There also आसु shades off into the sense of "to be" by easy gradations. I would add a further argument against Prof. Weber's derivation, and I find Mr. Beames points out the same difficulty; viz: the elision of an initial consonant (ग of गच्छति) is not known except in rare

cases like आण् for जाण्. Mr. Beames says this same thing:—"The aphæresis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prākṛit it is confined almost entirely to the root ॠ (*jāṇa*) as in *āndāsi-jāṇāsi*, *ānavādi-īnāpayati*, &c. Also in *uno=punah*, and a few other words." (Vol. III, P. 183).

[आणवेदि is a wrong instance here, by the way; for the ॠ or its ज is not elided here but turned to ण्ण and then to ण, it is not from आजाणवेदि.

उण् is recognised by Hc̣machandra in combinations like स उण् apparently, for he does not cite उण् by itself (see his gloss on *Si. Hc̣. VIII-i-177*); while आप्तासि for जानासि is an instance of dubious evidentiary value for where we find instances like तुज्झ ण्ण आप्ण हिअअं (*Sākhuntala*, III, 15) on the one hand, we have, on the other hand, instances like the following:—

अदं एअ एदस्स हिअअं जाणामि मद् एसो

(*Uttara-Rāma-Charita*.)

In fact पुनः by itself is changed to पुण् (See *Si. Hc̣. VIII-iv-426*, illustration) in Apabhramśa.

To the above instances may be added क उण् from कः पुन¹⁰¹, which eventually gives कण्ण in Apabhramśa shown by Hc̣machandra as a ready-made *ādeśa* for कः (*Si. Hc̣. VIII-iv-267*).

A little consideration will, however, furnish a rational explanation of this elision of an apparently initial consonant. Hc̣machandra, no doubt, in his gloss on VIII-i-177 says — क्वचिद्देरपि । सयुनः । सउण् । सच । सो अ ॥ However, it seems that सउण्,

101. Hc̣machandra gives it as an *ādeśa* of किम्. But evidently किम् represents the genderless base, and he gives कर्दं and कवण as the two *ādeśas*, which, as the illustration shows, represent the neuter and non-neuter (i. e. feminine as also masculine) aspects respectively —

कर्तुं वि एह न चित्थं कर्दं वि ज निव्याणु

(*Kumārpaṭa Charita*, VIII, 30).

(कोऽपि एतद् न चित्तवते न विचारयति । यद् किमिति किंवरूपे निर्वाणम्—Gloss by Hc̣machandra)

This will show that कर्दं is neuter and कवण is masculine here (as it is feminine in the illustration to the *śāstra*, कवण षण्=का घृणा)

સોઝ, (વડળ), જ આજે (ન જાને), are such closely-knit expressions that they, as it were, symbolize a compact idea and this¹⁰² psychological aspect throws itself on to the physical formation of the words and gives them the appearance of single words, thus altering the initial position of the consonants in question into an uninitial one, and hence comes the elision. This view will explain the absence of elision when પુન, જાને &c are separately used and we have પુણ જાણે &c (See the instance of¹⁰³ જાણે quoted from *Uttara Rāma-charita* above)]

It would have been really easier for Prof. Weber to have derived અચ્છડ from આગચ્છડિ, instead of from ગચ્છડિ. The difficulty about the elision of ગ would have then disappeared, the ગ being regarded as uninitial in આગચ્છડિ we would get આઅચ્છડ, which would give આચ્છડ, અચ્છડ (Hemachandra gives આગમિઓ and આણમિઓ as alternative forms, VIII-1-177, gloss) Sindhi અચ્ (અવળો-અવળ) to come, is traceable to this evolved form of આગચ્છ. The sense also "to come", would be nearer the sense of અચ્ "to be", than ગમ્ "to go". I suggest this as a mere hypothetical alternative, for this derivation is obviously rather laboured, both on the phonetic side and the side of its meaning. However, I must note here that in representing Prof. Weber's view I have entirely depended on Mr. Beames' work (Vol. III, Pp. 181-192). On referring to Prof. Weber's *Hala* P. 41 I find no such references as are mentioned by Mr. Beames, while the only place I find where he suggests the derivation of અચ્છડિ from ગચ્છડિ is in the index of words, thus —

"*√accha, gam (?) 757*"

and the 757th *gala* has સમચ્છડિ in such connection that it may

102 A similar psychological condition accounts for the working of *sandhi* in Gujarati (which is rare) in words like નાન્વો (=ન આન્વો), નાળો (=ન આળો) and the like generally in poetry. The idea of negation is woven in with the idea of activity and the whole is a compact idea, hence the *sandhi* coalition.

103 If instances of જાણે (for જાણે) can be found, even when જાણે is an independent isolated word it must obviously be the result of false analogy taken from the જાણે in compact combinations.

have nothing to do with the sense of अस्=to be. The edition of *Hāla* I look into is that of 1881 A. D., whereas Mr. Beames' Vol. III bears the year 1879 A. D. It is just possible he referred to an earlier edition which contains all that he reproduces. I have not had access to it, unfortunately. But a closer examination of Weber's "Hāla" shows that Mr. Beames had this very edition before him. It is thus an unsolved mystery how Mr. Beames refers to quotations &c. not traceable in Weber's "Hāla."

Lassen, in his reference to Kramadīśvara's *Sankshiptasāra* gives a different account of the root अच्. Mr. Beames refers to Lassen at P. 181, Vol. III. He tells us that Lassen quotes (P. 346) *Acchakha* &c. as fragments of a present tense, and (P. 266) seems to favour a derivation from *asti* (अस्ति) by inversion *atsi* (अत्ति), *ts* easily migrating into च्. Mr. Beames adds:—"But this will not account for the other persons of the tense." This objection of Mr. Beames is hardly sound. For very often roots are formed from a single original and then they start on their conjugational course on the basis of the newly derived root. Nothing would be more natural than अच् being formed from अस्ति,—the third personal singular form being the most familiar in use, and then for अच् being worked into other forms on the principle of simplification as I have pointed out before. (See Lecture III, Pp. 98-99.)

But the real objection to Lassen's conjectural derivation, to my mind, is quite different, and difficult to get over. अस्ति, by व्यत्यय, may give अत्ति, and this may turn into अच्चि. But for अच्चि to change into अच् (which is the form most in use and originally employed) is to reverse the course of phonetic evolution. अच्चि, or rather अत्ति is no doubt found in use in later *Apabhramśa* literature. But it is evolved out of अच्चि by the omission of the द्रुततर अ in च्. We must therefore first seek to account for अच्चि as it stands. We shall see how this can be done, soon below.

I must just at present come to Mr. Beames' view of the matter. He enters into an elaborate discussion of this subject at Pp. 180 to 187 of his third volume. After stating and com-

menting on the views of Lassen and Weber he proposes अच् (Slr) = to appear (as he renders it) as the derivation of अच्. I shall examine his objections to the claims of अम् and his plea for अच्. First then Mr Beames contends that अच् given as an *adesa* of अम् by Vararuchi (Pr Prak XII 19) whose rule on this point appears to be the earliest does not necessarily represent a phonetic evolutive of अम् he gives merely a popular equivalent of the classical word (अम्) just as he gives बुद् and खुप् (VIII 68? 69) as Prakrit substitutes for the Sanskrit मस् which cannot be on that ground alone be regarded as the evolutionary original of बुद् or खुप्. Well, I perfectly agree with the general principle indicated in this argument. It is only in the particular application of it that I venture to differ. For अच् and अम् are not as wide apart phonetically as बुद् and मस् or खुप् and मस्. In fact as I shall show below अच् is allied to अम् under recognised phonetic laws. The form in which Hemachandra gives अच् for आस् may be contrasted with that used by Vararuchi: the former says its final consonant is turned into छ whereas the latter says अम् is changed to अच् thus the former regards अच् as a phonetic evolutive of आम् the latter as a compact substitute of अम् (which may be regarded as a phonetic substitute because of the phonetic affinity existing between the two). Hemachandra's गच् for गम् in VIII iv-215 (rather छ for म् in गम्) stands in pointed contrast with the numerous non phonetic substitutes of गम् in VIII iv-162 and आस् (when स् becomes छ under the former *śūtra*) is lumped with गम् and two other roots. The conclusion as regards अच् being regarded by Hemachandra as a phonetic evolutive is irresistible. Vararuchi's case is dubious to say the least.

Secondly Mr Beames contends that Vararuchi gives अच् for some forms while he gives अत्ति for अस्ति (XII 20). I already answered this argument a little while ago when I said that the principle of simplification prevailed in this case. I there argued from अच्, derived from अस्ति, to अच्छामि, अच्छसि, &c. I am aware that Vararuchi's *śūtras* giving अच्छामि, अच्छसि &c. against अत्ति (not अच्छद्) for अस्ति would lead the argument the other

way; अच् in all forms first, and अति in the 3rd personal singular alone, would show अच्छ (अच्छति) as a subsequent adoption from अच्छामि &c. on the basis of *analogy* and *simplification*, (see *supra* Lectura III, Pp. 98-99). Let it be so; (though I shall endeavour to show below that the principle worked in the opposite course, from अच्छ to अच्छामि etc.). Any how it was, as Vararuchi shows, only one form अति against अच्छ in all other forms. The probability then would be that अच्छ as a generally prevalent root was dominant and we have to see whether or not it was a phonetic evolve of अम्. (Of course, Vararuchi gives अच्छ as prevalent in Śaurasēni.)

It may be added that Section XII of *Prākṛita-Pralāta* suffers in lucidity in consequence of the commentary by Bhāmaha on it being lost. There is a further vitiating element: Cowell (Page 184) regards sūtras 19, and 20 (which deal with these forms, अच्छामि &c. and अति) as conjectural. I note these handicapping elements as of some importance.

Thirdly, Mr. Beames states that we have the opinion of a high authority (presumably Prof. Weber's authority noticed above) for disputing the connection of अच्छ with अम्.

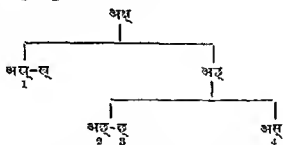
I have already disposed of Prof. Weber's contribution to this subject and I need not go into repetition. But until I secure the advantage of seeing the work quoted from by Mr. Beames, I must believe that no valid reasons are shown for disputing the phonetic relation between अच्छ and अम्—a relation which is obvious to common observation. All I at present have is Mr. Beames' statement in one sentence:—

"Weber, Hāla P. 41, rejects, and with justice, the idea of any connection between the two words." (अच्छ and अम्). I have already said, the edition of Weber's Hāla I have been able to see says nothing at P. 41, on this point. I must therefore wait till I secure the correct reference to see if the rejection is based on just grounds.

Lastly, Mr. Beames believes that अम् is a separate stem which has yielded ह् for its म् in the modern languages and this makes it

difficult for him to conceive by what process it could have become અચ્ઢ. All I can say to this is that the change of ષ્ to ઢ is well known; in fact Mr. Beames himself recognises it (Vol. I, P. 261) in છ (six) from વષ્ (Skr.) (through વઢ્-સઢ્-), છટો from વષ. (Skr.) through સટો. I shall soon indicate the definite conditions in which the ષ્ of અષ્ appears to me to have changed to ઢ. In these circumstances, I see no reason why one stem (અષ્) should be taken for ઓઢે (M.) and (S.), ઢૈ (H.), and another (અચ્ઢ) created for છે (G.), (B.) &c..¹⁰⁴

Let us, however, examine the claims of અચ્ઢ, on its own merits, for being the original of છે, &c., as set forth by Mr. Beames. The negative ground that અષ્ is not satisfying as it cannot yield અચ્ઢ, it can only give અઢ, is disposed of just above. On that negative basis he goes in search of અચ્ઢ as satisfying all the various shapes it assumes in several modern languages; these are અચ્ઢ and અષ્ on the one hand (અષ્ coming through અચ્ઢ) and અવ્ on the other, (વ્ being the phonetical antecedent of ષ્ as well ઢ in Prākṛit, *Si. H.* VIII-iv-215; and ઢ that of ષ્ particularly in M.). Thus the following diagram:—



104. Mr. Beames notices the negative combination ન+અસ્થિ resulting in G. નથી used indiscriminately for all persons, and (Vol III, Pp. 168-9) remarks—"This is a case of forgetfulness of the origin of a word leading to its use being extended to cases where it has no right to be, for નથી is clearly derived from અસ્થિ, the Pr. form of અસ્થિ, with ન prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing." True, but I would add that this forgetfulness began even before Hēma-chandra who (VIII-iii-148) gives અસ્થિ for all persons and numbers in the present tense.

will indicate a full account of all the modern languages under the principle of वीजलाघव. Mr. Beames finds No. 1 (म्) in the Bhojpur (Vol. III, P. 186), No. 2-3 अद्-द् in the Oriya (अछि, अड, अद्ध, अछ, अछन्त), Bangālī (आछि, आछि, आछे, आछ, आछेन; छिउ, छिलि, छिल, छिलाम्, छिला, छिलेन्); in Maithila dialects (छ, द्, छे; छै; छी, छी); in the dialects of Kānāon, Gārhwāl, and E. Rājputāna (छ, छौ &c.); and in Gujarātī (छ, छे, छे; छये, छो, छे; as he gives the forms);¹⁰⁵ and No. 4 (अम्) in M. असे, असस, अम्, असां, असत; असतो, असतोस, असतो; etc. etc. widely in this language.

As regards the meaning Mr. Beames relies on the word अक्षि (=the eye) as furnishing a possible basis for possessing the sense of "to see" or "to appear."

Now, this being the whole case in favour of अद्, the latter part relating to the meaning may be disposed of by the single answer that the meaning "to see" or "to appear" is, in fact, a mere unfounded guess, the only meaning given to अद् in Sanskrit being "to reach, to prevail", as Mr. Beames himself admits it (Vol. III, P. 183.). M. Williams regards अद् as not an original root but probably an old desiderative of अम् (=to be). He derives अक्षि from अम् (=to be) or suggests अद् with a queri. Obviously अद् (=to be clear, manifest) would be preferable. Cf. *Nirukta*, I, 9 which says:—अक्षि चोदरनकेरित्याप्रायणस्तस्मादेतं व्यक्ततरे भवत इति द विज्ञायते! Thus Yāska would derive अक्षि from चद् (=to see, to tell) but evidently it is far-fetched, the elision of the द् of चद् in Sanskrit being inexplicable. May it be that Yāska had चद् in view? The derivation attributed by the *Niruktakāra* to Āgrāyaṇa, viz: that from अद्, would seem preferable; though I should think व्यक्ततरे भवतः (become clearer) should give place to some such sense as in जगद् व्यक्तं कुरुतः (make the world clear, manifest). And after all, it may be asked, why all this trouble? For अद् and

105. Kāśmirī also shows this उ —

दुम् (am) Maso. ऐम् (am) fem.

दुम् (art) " ऐम् (art) "

दुद् (is) " ऐद् (is) " (Vide Grierson's *Manual of Kāśmirī Language*, Vol. I, P. 44.)

अम् can be had from अम् as well; is it only for the ए in Bhojpuri? Let us see how Bhojpuri helps the case. Sir George Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V Part II gives various forms for the verb representing "to be" in several dialects of Bhojpuri under the Standard List of Words and sentences which contains:-

हाइ; बाना = am; दादी = am;

हावा, हावस, हउआउ = (thou) art;

पा, हावस, हउ = is;

and the like, but खे is not found there at all. The Skeleton Grammar given for Bhojpuri (Pp. 50-53) is equally silent as regards खे. Only in the specimen passages I find the following:-

(1) होखे = "may be" (Pp. 206-207)

or "to be" (p. 187).

(2) आ एलायक नइखी (P. 232).

(3) राउर घेरा कहावे लायक नइखी (P. 220)

(4) राउर छरिका कहावे सुहर नइखी (P. 195)

(5) राउर छरिका कहावे जोग नइखी (P. 206)

(P. 167)

Now, होखे in (1) would clearly show that it is based on the root हो from भू and खे must represent some termination; while नइखी is a negation-mixed form like नथी in Gujarātī (नास्ति Skr., नत्थि Pr.). The relation between थ and ख may be unknown yet, but I believe it is likely to be discovered, for I know of a man with defective vocality saying नखी जोइतुं (don't want) for नथी जोइतुं. This would indicate the direction in which vocal defect can go in these conditions, and Bhojpuri speech may easily be conceived to have moved along that groove, only in this single form नइखी. Mr. Beames' assertion about the ख is also rather feeble: "In Bhojpuri, for the present is often heard खे, which is unchanged throughout both persons." He calls this a "widely used" form, but gives not a single instance, so that we are left without guidance. And the guidance we get from the Linguistic Survey of India tells a different tale altogether. In these circumstances, the case for ख collapses under the double weight of the various forms quoted

above (which do not include स्), and of the fact that where स् is seen it is either traceable to a different termination tacked on to हो (भू), or to the compact form नस्ति.¹⁰⁰

Thus, the only factor (स्) on which the case for अस् was based having disappeared, the remainder, ह् (the original of स् M. and ह् G. & ca.), need not depend on अस् as the root, for it can as well and better stand on the foundation of अस् "to be" or आस् "to sit" (by gradual change = "to be").

We have thus to choose between आस् ("to sit") and अस् ("to be") as the original of हे (ह्). I shall now give my conclusion in this matter, giving reasons as briefly as I can. Well, then, the position is this. leaving aside as a rare phenomenon, the form नस्ति shown by Hémachandra (VIII-iii-148) as indiscriminately used for all persons and numbers of the present tense, we are faced by the undoubted and widely prevalent forms of अह् (अहमि, अहसि and also अहति, अहद्) in Prākṛit, Pāli and Apabhramśa. This अह् is accounted for, on the one hand, by Hémachandra as an *ādīśa* (but certainly a phonetic *ādīśa*) of आस् (=to sit), (VIII iv-215), and, on the other hand, by Kramadīśvara as a phonetic *ādīśa* of अस् (=to be), (*Saṅkṣipta-sāra*, iv, 10 as referred to in Pischel §480). Hémachandra flourished during V. S. 1141-1228 while Kramadīśvara is placed during 1200-1250 A. D. (= V. S. 1256-1306), (Vide Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar", Chronological Conspectus).

106. I make these observations under certain disadvantages and consequently with clear reservations and an openness to conviction if my contention is proved wrong. For I am not in personal touch with Bhojpuri, Mr. Bernes has cited no concrete instances, and I have to depend upon the Linguistic Survey of India which work, in spite of its great merits, is liable to err occasionally as I find for certain with regard to my mother tongue, Gujarātī. Nevertheless the fact remains that against the single case of स् occasionally seen in Bhojpuri, there is a large phalanx of forms with ह् in that and all other languages, and we need not, only for the sake of the isolated स्, stray away from अस् and seek the dubious support of ह् with no imaginary meaning.

Thus Hemachandra and Kramadīśvara separated by a century from each other, ascribed अच्च् to different sources, the former to आम्, the latter to अम्. Whom should we follow? Let us examine the *pros* and *cons* of each. The points in favour of आम् (=to sit) are as under —

- (1) Pāli, the oldest vernacular has अञ्जति used in such context as to justify the case for आम्. Thus कृण्ही अञ्जन्ति = 'They sit silent', (*The Jātaka* 48), fits in with the sense of आम्, "to sit," much better than the sense of अम्, "to be," कृणीमाम्हे (sits silent) makes proper idiomatic sense, कृणीमस्ति (is silent) would not make much sense, it would certainly be clumsy. Childers' derivation of अञ्जति in his *Pāli Dictionary* from अच्च् to sit, has thus a good case. Under समञ्जति (सम्+आम्) also he cites कृण्ही समञ्जिहे, "they sit down in silence" (*The Jātaka* 48), which is explained कृण्ही हुत्वा निषीदन्तीति युक्त इति which further supports the derivation from आम्. The *Jātaka* date before 300 B.C. (*Buddhism, its History and Literature*, Rhys Davids, P. 78.)
- (2) Hemachandra favours आम् in his *sūtra*, गमिष्यमासाः, already referred to. His *Kumārāpārācharita* rhonads in instances of अच्च्, in senses which vary from the sense, 'to sit,' to the sense, 'to be' as has been noted by me before.

The points in favour of अम् (to be) are these —

- (1) Vararuchi (who may be placed about 350 B.C., his other name being Kātyāyana, vide Dr. Belvalkar's "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar," Chronological Conspectus)¹⁰ is distinctly in favour of अम् (to be) as we have seen.

107 About the identity of Kātyāyana and Vararuchi, and the date, see Weber's *History of Indian Literature* (3rd Edition), Pp. 222-223, and Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (Edition by the Lumsden Office, Allahabad), Pp. 123-128. The former seems to favour the date 350 B.C., while the latter places Kātyāyana Vararuchi in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (which is approximately

- (2) Kramadīśvara (*Saṅkṣipta sūtra*, iv-10) favours अम् (to be),
 (3) Markandeya (*Prākṛita-sarvāśā* VII-116) distinctly accepts अम् and has no *ādā* for आम्. His words are अस्तेरच्छ (A tritā) स्यात् अच्छ। अरिथ इति ससृतात् (*Vṛtti*)

[Markandeya quotes from *Prākṛita Pingala* (see xvii-8 and 9, for instance) and *Prākṛita Pingala* is believed to belong to the fourteenth century or after. Unless his quotations are from folk lore independently of *Prākṛita Pingala* this would place Markandeya somewhere after the 14th Century A D. Sir George Grierson (J R A S 1918, P 391) states that Markandeya appears to have lived in the middle of the seventeenth century and refers to Pischel, *Pr Gr* § 40. But I am afraid there is some error here in relying on Pischel. I read the passage, *Pr Gr* § 40, with Rev. Father Zimmermann and his rendering is that Pischel refers to the colophon of a Ms. reprinted by Aufrecht which states that Markandeya wrote in the reign of Mulaudadera, Aufrecht suggests that this Mulaudadera reigned in 1664 A D, but Pischel himself says this is not certain. He argues on the limit fixed after Vasantaraja (*Prākṛita Saṅgraha*) and places Markandeya after the first quarter of the fifteenth century A D.]

- (4) The strong probability that अम् which actually exists in the sense "to be" would be easily regarded as the original of अच्छ used widely in the sense, "to be."

Now let us weigh all these considerations together. Hama chandra's instances in his *Aum rap la clari* lose their evidentiary value, as I have already stated above because the epic was composed with the special design of illustrating his grammatical rules. If we look into his *sūtra* गमिष्यमासा छ we see that the छ of गच्छ and गच्छ (गच्छ and गच्छ) is really from the Sanskrit गच्छति यच्छति and the change of स to छ is after all a fiction viewed

the same. Cowell (*Prākṛita-Pīṭhā* Preface, Pp vi vii) just mentions the traditional conjunction of the 'nine gems' (of whom Vararuchi was one रत्नानां नवै वारचिर्नव विरुमत्य) in the Court of Vikramaditya, placing the date at 56 B C, and prefers (evidently) a date far back into the past, "anterior to our era."

phonetically. The इ of इप् is no doubt phonetic in Sanskrit. Finding गच्छइ , इच्छइ , जच्छइ in current use Hemachandra grouped them together (phonetic as well as non-phonetic forms) and also finding अच्छइ in current use in varying senses ('to sit' shading off into 'to be') he joined this also in the *sūtra* (म् to इ being a phonetic change) and especially as अस्थि was seen used for all persons and numbers, he regarded अच्छइ as derived from आम् . Vararuchi prefers अम्-अच्छ in all forms except the 3rd person singular of the present tense where he insists on अस्थि . But in view of the fact that अच्छति , अच्छइ were also in existence in his time in all probability it seems that seeing अस्थि also in use he fixed his gaze on that and ignored the other form अच्छति , अच्छइ . Kramadīvara, on the other hand, has सि for the second person singular, म्हि for the first person singular (for असि and अस्मि respectively) म्हो and म्ह for the 1st person plural, and अच्छ in all the rest ¹⁰³. Thus while Vararuchi has अच्छ everywhere except in the case of अस्ति Kramadīvara has अच्छ in the case of अस्ति , सन्ति and स्थ , अच्छइ , अच्छन्ति and अच्छइ or अच्छत्य .

As to the formation अच्छ there is no difficulty in this way. The change of स् to इ is found at work in several words, as I have already shown (see *supra* P 249) पू-छ , पठ-छट्टो , शक-छकटो मशक-मच्छर , &c., (of course the स् being an avolute of an original श् or प्). The reverse change from इ to स् has been noticed by Mr Beames (Vol I, P 218) as especially obtaining in Marathi, this change is found at work in Gujarati also, e. g. Shr. अक्ष=axe , Pr अच्छ and also अस्य , G आस , and curiously enough M partially breaks its rule and has आस as well as आस . This is enough to indicate a phonetic affinity between इ and म् which is the cause of the change स् to इ in the instances given by me. Now अस्ति at some stage, in splitting off its स्ति (under the process of विच्छेद) stood thus अस+ति-अस+इ (the स् getting the अ

103 $\text{सि म्हास्त सिग्निम् म्याम् iv-8}$, उच्चमवहुना म्हो म्हो iv-9 , अच्छोऽयन iv-10 (*Samkshipta s. r.*) But in another place *Samkshipta tāra* recognizes अस्थि as a solitary form in Mahu śātri ($\text{अस्तेरस्थि विज्ञ ॥ अस्थि पुरिषो ॥}$ (*Lassen, App Pp 50, 51, Extract from S 8*)

ending under the general rule indicated by *Si Hc VIII-17-230*, and by Vararuchi in *Prakṛta-Praśaṣa VIII, 71*) Here, although the *matrā* quantity is preserved there is an inherent feeling of loss of strength which existed in अस्ति with the अ emphasized by the subsequent conjunct. To compensate for this apparent loss of strength, अस+ति (इ) doubled¹⁰⁹ the स् and evolved अस्सति (अस्सइ). This अस्सति-अस्सइ was likely to be mistaken for अस्सइ evolved from अस्पति (=throws). To secure a distinction from it the स्स in अस्सइ, the evoluto of अस्ति took refuge under its phonetic affinity with छ-च्छ and assumed the form अच्छइ (This अच्छइ later on became अउइ in post-Apabhramśa stages, just as पच्छइ (from Skṛ पथात्) became प इ, and then अछि, (like पछि-पडी).

आस्ते (=sits) must pass through a similar series of evolutions to arrive at the final form अच्छति or अच्छइ. This, then, is the possible history of अच्छइ which gave छे to modern Gujarati. It will be evident that I incline strongly in favour of the derivation from अस् (to be) in preference to आस् (to sit). However, in view of the oldest vernacular, Pali showing अच्छति in a sense more fitting with आस् (to sit) than with अस् (to be), I may venture a suggestion that both, आस् as well as अस्, evolved the common form अच्छइ¹¹⁰ which, owing to the nearness of the mean-

109 This process (विशेष and then द्वित्व of the first member of the conjunct) will be perceived as natural when we compare instances like छत्रक (Skṛ), छत्तरई (Ap) छत्तरु (G) [Some derive छत्तरु from छत्तरक, I consider the derivation likely for reasons to be given at the proper place the *its argu* about the change of च to प, see *infra*] पत्रक (Skṛ) पत्तरई (Ap) पत्तरु (G, Surati G). The lengthening of अ (in the last instance, पत्तरु), indicates conclusively the doubling of the *visarga* first member.

110 A very significant illustration of this is found in the following lines — अ अच्छइ त माविअइ होइइ करतु म अचिछ ॥ (Illustration to *Si Hc VIII-14 388*) which is rendered in the *Dodāla crilla* (V 8 1672 or earlier) thus — ददमि त माचये, कोउय —रीयते बुचये । अविचयेति बुचये मा 'अचिछ' मा आरव मा निछेय्व ॥ Here the first अच्छइ is taken as अस्ति and no other sense is possibly suitable while the second अचिछ is taken as आरव (sit) though 'don't be "don't remain may as well fit in here, compare Mar *thi*, तु येये कस (you be here, stay here)

ing between some phases of the sense of *आम्* and *अम्*, gave rise to a confusion which led some grammarians to trace it to *अम्* (to be) and others to connect it with *आम्* (to sit). With this suggestion, which does not affect my adherence to the derivation from *अम्* (to be), I close this rather lengthened out discussion.¹¹¹

Another root which may be put under this class is *वा* (*वावु*) = to cause to sound, applied to *वासळी*, the flute), e. g. *वासळी वावळे*. (Plays on the flute), as in

111. Mr. Keshavlal Dhruva favors the derivation from *अम्* 'to be' (See his edition of Bhilana's *Kaddambari*, Notes, P. 257, ll 10-18) He says succinctly to this effect — "Those who derive *छे* from *आम्* (*विधत्थ*) and *रुच्छ* (*गल्यर्थ*) are evidently misled by the Prākṛit form *अच्छ*. The *च्* added in this root is due to the tendency noted in Pāṇini VI-1-73, *छे च*. Just as that tendency gives *रुच्छ* for *रुप्*, so it gives *अच्छ* Prākṛit for *अम्*. With the loss of that tendency during the Apabhraṃśa period the adventitious *च* is lost.

I should say this *च* is lost during the post Apabhraṃśa period. For Apabhraṃśa literature does not show *अछड*, though Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's *Prākrita Prakhāṇa* (P. 94, foot notes) cites *अरतेछ* as a reading given by two Mss. It is possible, however, that this *अछ* was given as a bare skeleton form, subject to the process of *च्* coming in. It is after Apabhraṃśa and before modern Gujarātī that we find *अछड* (*अछड* with its *च्* dropped). I should also point out the difference between this genesis of the *च्* and that suggested by me above, viz *असड*—*अरसड*—*अछड*—*अछड*.

The late Śrīśrī Vrajālal evades the issue, and simply says — *अम्* Skr. has *अस्ति*, 3rd person singular in the present tense. It becomes *अस्ति* or *छड* in Prākṛit (*Utsargamālā*, P. 74) — (*छड* is not Prākṛit at all, but a very late post Apabhraṃśa form). When, however (at pp 102-3 of his *Utsargamālā*) he tells us that *अस्ति* became *स्ति* and *स्त* changing into *थ* gave *थावळे* (*ठ*) one cannot help smiling at the series of errors. *थावळे* is obviously from *स्था* (Skr.) 'to, stand'. However, we must be fair. Cowell's edition of *Prākrita-Prakhāṇa* (Vararuchi) P. 94, footnotes, gives *यस्मि* as the form of *अस्मि* according to one Ms. There is hardly any doubt that this *यस्मि* was really derived from *स्था* and misunderstood by the person responsible for this reading.

- (1) व्हालो म्हारो कुंजमां वायछे वांसळी रे लोड,
नादे वेपीछे म्हारी पांसळी रे लोड.

(Dayārām; *Garabī-Sangraha*, Gñjarāṭī Press Edition;
P. 180, Garabī 81, st. 1).

- (2) वांसळडी वाजो सांझे आज वांसळडी वाजो;
वात माहारी भूडी मां जाजो; सांझे आज०

(*Ibid*, P. 181, Garabī 34, opening lines).

This वा is reduced to this lowest size from वादयति Skr.; वायइ-
वाएइ (Pr.); वाए-वाय (छे), G..

I may notice only one other root under this class, ए- (2),—
लेवु "to take". I do not derive the word from नी (Skr.)=to
lead. (If that derivation was accepted, it won't fall under this
class, the change from न to ए being the only one and too small
for justifying its inclusion in this class). The reasons for
rejecting this derivation are:—

- (1) The sense of लेवु is "to take", that of नी is "to lead",
and though it is not impossible for the sense to pass
into that of "taking" through the sense, "to carry"
it does after all involve a far-fetching process;
- (2) नी is not found in Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa literatures in
any form other than नी or the like;
- (3) A comparison with the Marāṭhī words नेणे (from नी)
='to guide', 'to lead', and घेणे (from घृह्)= 'to take'
indicates that नी is likely to be restricted to the
sense of guiding, leading or the like.

I derive ले (लेवु) from लभ् (Skr.), लइ (Pr.), लभते-लइइ-लभइ-लेइ.
The last step but one is a hypothetical one, but it is meant to show
the course of phonetic change. It is true ले is found already in this
form (लइ turned to ले) as early as the time of *Mugdhaśābaddha*
Aulika (V. S. 1450), and earlier even, i. e. before Hemachandra,
as the following quotations will indicate.—

- (१) करी लेई देई इत्यादि बोलिइं × × × तिहां चया प्रत्यय

(Mṃgdhāṇ. P. 4 col. 2)

(२) करी लेई इत्यादि आगळि जाणई सकई ए बिहुनई योगि तुम् हुइ ।

(*Ibid*, P. 5. col. 2)

(३) जं कावालिं वप्पुदा लेईं अमग्गु कवाळ ॥

(*Si. Hs. VIII-iv-387 illustration*)

लेईं here is rendered in the *Dadhaka Vritti* by लुहन्ति.

(4) जं चाइसि तं लेइ.

(*Prākṛita-Piṅgala*, I-9)

(Mārkaṇḍēya's *Prākṛita-Sarvasva*, XVII, 8, Vizagapatam Edition, gives 1-50 as the *Pr. Piṅgala* reference, but I find this quotation at I-9 in the Calcutta edition of *Pr. Piṅgala*).

All that we can say in these circumstances is that ल्ह had passed into the form ले at a very early stage, even if ल्ह has to be found side by side with it somewhere.

I am not alone in deriving ले from ल्ह as above. Mr. Beames supports me in this; see his *Comparative Grammar* Vol. III, P. 49, and Vol. I, P. 268. He also points out (Vol. I, P. 248) that Bangālī writes ल्हते, but pronounces न्हते, and Oriya both writes and pronounces नेइवा; this may throw a side light on the attempt to connect Marāṭhī नेणे with Skt. लम्-ल्ह (Pr.)-लेइ (G.) instead of with नी Skr. "to lead". (Mr. Beames so derives M. नेणे Vol. III, P. 49). For M. नेणे and घेणे are different in sense (as I have pointed out above), just as Sindhi खण् and वण् bear different shades of meaning; खणी अच (= 'bring') (literally, come (अच) after 'taking' it) would be used in cases of things which can be carried in the hand, while वणी अच (also="bring") is used in cases of things which are not so portable but only capable of being led in or the like. Similarly in Marāṭhī घेणे refers to things that can be taken in the hand, and नेणे to things that can be led from one place to another. I recognise that नेणे has another sense, viz. "to carry"; but this is in distinct contrast with घेणे which means simply "to take"; thus नेणे implies the moving of a thing from one place to another, while घेणे to simple receiving of a thing in the hands or a receptacle.

Sir Rabindranāth Tāgore also agrees in this derivation of Bang. লড়তে ('to take') from लड्. He traces the course thus:—लभिते, लङ्गिते, लङ्गिते-लङ्गिते-नीते—(See J. R. A. S. 1913, P. 538, article by Mr. J. A. Anderson on "Mr. Rabindranāth Tāgore's Notes on Bengali Grammar".)

I now come to (ग) under our *Utsarga V*:—viz. the formation of the corpus of Gujarātī verbs by turning nouns (and, some times, adjectives) into verbal roots, without any appreciable alteration.

As a type of this class we may take the verb साळवું (G.) from शल्य (Skr.). The group may be called शल्यादि for convenience. शल्य='a dart, an arrow, a spike,' would be सल्ल in Prākṛit, and is साल in Gujarātī, a noun. From it we have the verb साळवું 'to hurt, pain inwardly.' No doubt, शल्य Skr. is from the verb शल्.¹¹² But the Gujarātī verb साळवું is correctly traceable to the Gujarātī noun साल as above. I give the शल्यादि list as framed by me:—

| Skr. noun or Adj. | Prākṛit or Apabhr. | Guj. | Guj. verb. |
|-------------------|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1 शल्यं | सल्लं | साल | साळवું |
| 2 पर्याणं | पडाणं | पडाण | पडाणवું |
| 3 धैर्यं | धीरं | धीर (rare, as in धारी न सक्त्यो धीरः; Dalsapatrām). | धीरवું |
| 4 तत्करः | (direct) | | तत्करवું |
| 5 निर्वाहः | निव्वाह | निभाय | नभायवું then नभवું |
| 6 चित्रं | (direct) | | चीतरवું |
| 7 धूर्तः | धुत्तु | (धूर्त at some time). | धूर्तवું |

112. शल्ङ्गिते Skr. would be सल्लङ्ग Pr.; unless it is सल्लङ्ग we cannot have साल in Guj.. शल् is not found in शल्ङ्गदिगण referred to in S. II. VIII-iv-329 so as to double the श्. Nor is the गण called an शल्ङ्गदिगण. The word शल्यादि at the end of the illustrations leaves the matter in uncertainty. If शल् can be included in the गण we may exclude साळवું from our list here.

| Skr. noun or Adj. | Prākṛit or Apabhṛ. | Guj. | Guj. verb. |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------|------------|
| 8 कटं | कटं | | कटवुं |
| 9 भटः | भट्ट | भट | भटवुं |
| 10 स्थिरं | धिरु | धिर | ठरवुं |
| 11 दरः | डरु | डर | डरवुं |
| 12 तलस्पर्शः | तलपकंस | | तळांसवुं |
| 13 युगकं | जुअडं | जोडुं | जोडवुं |
| 14 | | ठग | ठगवुं |
| 15 | | आचको | अचकावुं |
| 16 | | वचको | वचकावुं |
| 17 | | खटको | खटकवुं |
| 18 संकटं | संकडं | सांकडुं | संकडावुं |
| 19 वकं | वकं | वांङुं | वकावुं |
| 20 धगलं | धगलं | धोळं | धोळवुं |
| 21 पीतं | पीअलं | पीळं | पीळवुं |
| 22 | | भोळं | भोळवुं |
| 23 | | गामरो | गमरावुं |
| 24 आकुल | आकुल | आकळो | अकळावुं |
| 25 पथात्तापकः | पच्छात्तावड | पस्तावो | पस्तावुं |

[संपीने is a 'participial form of a defective verb the root whereof may be portulated as संप्; no other verbal form of this is recognized by idiom. This is a verb formed from the noun संप which can be conjecturally traced to Skt. संपातः (=concurrence), Ap. संपाड, then संपाड-संपु-संप.]

NOTES:—

(2) I find पडाणिअ in *Kumārāpāla-Charita*, II, 63. The Sanskrit commentary renders it by प्रादितपव्ययनाः. It also has अपर्याणिताः for अपडायाणिअ. This may show that the original Sanskrit nominal root gave पडाण्डुं. But in view of the very limited field in which Gujarātī denominative verbs play a part, I prefer to trace the verb to the Gujarātī noun, पडाण.

(3) धीरुं means "to trust, so as to hear in patience." Sanskrit has not got धीर as a root; अयधीर (=to slight) does exist, but as a whole root.

(4) तस्करुं; cf. "तस्कुं तंतरुं तस्करुं ए आठे आपकळा य."

(A popular saying).

(5) नभुं—This is a peculiar formation. नभाव gives the appearance of a cansal form in आर्, and hence नभ् is taken as an original root. The mistake of regarding वृद्ध formations in आव e. g. देणार, चढाव, बनाव etc. as nonns formed from the cansal in आव plays also a part in this case.

It is not quite satisfactory to trace नभुं from निर्वहति-निव्वह-निव्वह-निभुं, for the sense of निभाव when traced from निर्वह is not fully derived from निर्वह. In निर्वह the sense is active (निर्वह करवो), whereas निभुं-नभुं implies a passive sense (निर्वह धवो).

(6) चीतरुं;—चित्रयति is found in Sanskrit itself; it is given as a root in the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. But in reality in Sanskrit itself the root is from the noun चित्र. I have an idea that चित्र really came from चित्, consciousness, life; that alone can be a true चित्र which embodies a conscious, living, idea.

(8) कठुं;—as in वरसाद् कठेठे; which refers to the oppressive heat before rainfall. कठारो is the noun from कठुं.

(9) भडुं—e. g.

"चालो चतुरा पली जई भडिये

(*Narasinha; Surnta-Sangrāma*, 27-8).

(10) ठरुं—The verb ठरुं may owe its rise to a misapprehension, similar to that which gave उमरुं to Kathiavāda. स्थिरक-थिरउ-ठरो, which may be mistaken for ठरुं and hence ठरुं. I put this as an alternative theory.

(12) तळ्यंसुं This root cannot have been formed direct from तळ and the verb स्पृश, for in that case it would be तळं स्पृशति, whereas we have तळ्यंसुं as a whole word. Consequently तळस्पृश nonn, through तळस्पृश, gives तळ्यंसुं correctly.

(18) જોડવું; -યુજ્ (Skr.) cannot have yielded જોડવું direct; for યુજ્ has જુંજઈ, જુજ્જઈ, જુપ્પઈ in Prākṛit.

(14) in (17) and (22) and (23). These are from Gujarātī nouns and adjective with an corresponding source-word in Sanskrīt.

(18) to (24) are verbs framed from adjectives whereas the others are from nouns. Amongst the adjectives, (18), (19), (22), (23) and (24) possess a passive sense, and can thus be differentiated from Sanskrīt denominatives like મલિનયતિ; (20) and (21) on the one hand and (22) on the other may be contrasted: પોઝવું, પીઝવું are like મલિનયતિ, causal in sense, but without any denominative termination; whereas મોઝવું has such a sense (મોઝું બનાવવું, i. e. મોઝું બનાવી હેતરવું), and the termination અવ (similar to skr. અવ) as well.

(25) પસ્તાવું is an instance where the principle of false analogy finds play. પસ્તાવો, a pure noun, is regarded as having આવો as a વૃ termination like ભરાવો from ભર, ચડાવો from ચડ and the like; and hence પસ્તા is taken as the corpus in a passive sense.

I may here sound a note of warning. Verbs, no doubt, are formed as above from nouns and adjectives, but there is a limit fixed to it by idiom and usage whose canons are like unwritten law. To take any undue liberty with this principle will lead one into ridiculous absurdities. Such cases are seen in erroneous and irresponsible formations from participles in ક્ત or in અન (લ્યુટ) terminations; a. g.

1. “લગ્નમાં સકલ ભૂતકાલ સંક્રાન્તેષે.”

(*Indu-Kumāra Nāṭaka*, by Mr. Nānālal D. Kavi. I, v-74).

2. “પદ્યો-પરિસમાપ્તો નથી”

(*Kṛtālank Kāvya*, by the same writer, Dedication, P. 3, l. 7)

3. “સંતાનના સ્નેહ ઉછેરજો, વાઝજો, પરિચ્છદજો

(*Jayā and Jayanta*, by the same author, P. 148, line 20)

4. નિર્મળજી (Ushā, by the same author, P. 16)

This sort of unknowing licence is carried to further extremes by some others, as when a writer in a Gujarātī Magazine (*Samālochaka*, July-September 1912, P. 176, line 1.) coins the verb प्रदक्षु from प्रदक्षिणा! The very formation of प्रदक्षिणा is ignored here. A friend sending to me a New Year's Day greeting wrote 'तुज आत्मने वदत्तशे;' here the bad example set by Mr. Nānālāl is faithfully followed. I need not waste time in analyzing the error in these liberties with language, grammar and common sense.¹¹³

[NOTE — It may be asked why this part ग of this *Utsarga* is not treated as part of *Utsarga IV-3* where stems formed from कान्त formations are dealt with. But a little comparative examination will disclose the difference in the conditions in each case. In cases falling under *Utsarga IV-(3)* the stem-formation itself is the subject and it is affected by some phonetic operation or other following or accompanying the joining of the क termination; while in the present case the original कान्त form of Sanskrit is taken up bodily to form the corpus of the verb.]

I shall close this part of the fourth Lecture here.

113. The only exceptions sanctioned by usage and idiom that I can find in this connection are the verbs दत्तु (=to give) and दक्षु used in Gujarātī from दत्त and दक्ष (past participles in Skr.). There is a clear object in these exceptional forms, in the first place the word दत्तु is used not in any and every case of giving, but only somewhat sarcastically and in a sinister way to express the idea of unjust, illegal, or unrighteous giving, as that of a bribe and the like. Secondly, to emphasize this aspect of the sense the original Sanskrit form दत्त is intentionally preserved to give prominence to it. दक्षु is similarly taken bodily from the Sanskrit कान्त with the special object of intensifying the sense of giving severe mental pain.

It is difficult to see any special object in the verb formed out of मुक्त (मुक्तु), by Dayārām in the following line —

अप्युक्त भवन अवश्ये मुक्ते प्रतिदिने वन लेह

(*Ramka-Vallabha*, XCIV, 4).

It must be regarded as a bold licence, unless it was a form in vogue technically amongst *Vaishya*s.

NOTE A.

(Lecture IV, Section I)

स्वरभक्ति—See P 118, end of n 5.

It will be interesting to examine the full significance and scope of स्वरभक्ति so that a clear light may be thrown on its relation to the विच्छेप of our present day vernaculars. The passages dealing with स्वरभक्ति in the *Rigveda Prātisākhya* are as under —

Patala I, 17, VI 10, 13, 14, XIII, 13, XIV, 25.

Macdonell has focussed all the important features of स्वरभक्ति from the *Prātisākhya*s in his *Vedic Grammar* (Encyclopaedia of Indo Aryan Research Series) in § 21 thus —

"*Starabhakti*—When a consonant is in conjunction with *r* or a nasal a very short vocalic sound tends to be developed between them, and the evidence of metre shows that a vowel must often be pronounced between them. It is the general view of the *Prātisākhya*s that when an *r* precedes another consonant a vowel is sounded after it, according to some of them this also takes place after *l* or even after any voiced consonant. They call it *Starabhakti* or "vowel part," which they describe as equal to $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{3}{4}$ mora in length and generally as equivalent to *a* or *e* (probably = *ẽ*) in sound

"a. The metre of the RV. shows that an additional syllable is frequently required in words in which *r* either precedes or follows another consonant e.g. *darśata* 'worthy to be seen' (quadrisyllabic) *indranamo* of a god (very often trisyllabic), *pra* "forth" (disyllabic,)

"b. When a consonant is followed by *ñ*, *n*, or *m*, the same parasitic vowel often appears, e.g. *yajna* (= *yajñā* "sacrifice," *gnā* (= *gnā*) "woman" It is, however, here frequent only as representing the second syllable after the caesura in trishtubh and jagati verses, it rarely occurs at the beginning of such verses, and never at the end "

This section has an important note 11 —

"There seem to be a few instances of a *Starabhakti* vowel being actually written *tasants*, beside *tas*—"tremble," the secondary derivative *Śaitarim* beside *Śitra* (A V) "white," *purusa* and *purusa*—"man" probably for *pūsa* (Wackernagel, I, 51, cp 52) "

Uvata in his commentary on the *Rik Prātisākhya* (Patala I-17) remarks —*अन्वयस्य चेतः स्वरभक्ति स्वप्रकार इत्यर्थः ॥* The first portion of this comment would probably favour my interpretation, स्वरभक्ते भक्तिः, but the latter portion would show it to mean स्वरस्य भक्तिः.

Then MacDonell's interpretation ('vowel part') has the support

of the St. Petersburg Lexicon which renders *Svarabhakti* by *Teilocal* (a portion of a vowel)

Whitney (*East India Pratiśākhya* 221-15) also calls it *fragment*, *piece* *part of a vowel*

On the other hand, M. Williams, in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, calls *Svarabhakti* 'vowel fracture' which would favour the sense स्वरेण भक्ति, unless "vowel fracture is intended to mean 'fracture (a fraction) of a vowel,' which is not a likely meaning

Again ह्रियात् for ह्र्यात्, पुरष for पूष would indicate that, at least in cases of this nature, the interpolated element is a vowel, not *vowel part*, and thus it would be स्वरेण भक्ति, not स्वरस्य भक्ति, unless the इ and उ in these cases are to be pronounced as fractions of a one *mātra* vowel

Then again, the corresponding Greek term for *Svarabhakti*, viz *Analyxis*, means literally, 'unfolding (*ana*=back, *lysis*=fold), this would point to the process of the unfolding of a conjunct by the interpolation of a vowel between the two members, therefore स्वरेण भक्ति (separation) of the members of a conjunct

Taking all these facts together, it may fairly be inferred that *Svarabhakti* was originally intended to denote the process of splitting up (भक्ति) of the members of a conjunct by a vowel (स्वरेण)—the vowel being *el* other than a short vowel and that by an unconscious transition it acquired the sense of 'portion of a vowel,'—a sense made plausible by the fact that the operating vowel was generally, almost always, a fraction of a *mātra* either $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or sometimes $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mora. Such an unconscious shunting off of meaning is not an uncommon psychological process

An examination of the nature of *Svarabhakti* will show the following points of contrast between itself and विधेय as seen in the vernaculars in India, and even in the earlier Prākritis —

- (a) While विधेय involves a full one *mātra* vowel *Svarabhakti* as a rule has a fraction of a *mātra*, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *mātra*, only in very rare cases it involves a full *mātra* vowel, as in पुरष for पूष, and ह्रियात् for ह्र्यात्. In fact *Svarabhakti* is such a delicate phonetic phenomenon that some Āchāryas have gone the length of denying its existence (vide *Rik-Pratiśākhya*, Pāṭala VI, 14)
- (b) The nature of *Svarabhakti* is so very delicate that the *Pratiśākhya* says it does not interfere with the functions of the conjunct न सयोगं स्वभक्तिर्विहन्ति (*Rik Prat*, Pāṭala VI-10) True, this primarily means that स्वभक्ति सयोगकार्यं न बाधते none

theless its further significance is that the conjunct practically remains intact. *विशेष*, on the contrary, actually breaks off the conjunct,

- (c) In the case of *Starabhaṭi* the interpolated vowel is either अ or a short ए. In the case of *विशेष* it is always अ in our vernaculars, and, in the Prākṛits, the original vowel is generally repeated (तत्परता भवति); किलिट् (for किलट्), रभण (for रत्नं), किरिआ (for क्रिया) *Vide Prākṛita-Prakāśa*, 111—50 ff.; or, as Halmachandīa gives it, the interpolated vowel is अ, ए or उ as the case may be, see R. H. VIII-11-100 to 115;
- (d) *Starabhaṭi* comes in only when there is a र or sometimes a ल, or a nasal (or even a voiced consonant) as a member of the conjunct. *विशेष* occurs even outside these limitations, e.g.

भक्तः (Skr.)

भगत (G.)

युक्तक (Skr.)

युगुत्त (G.)

and the like;

- (e) खरभक्ति is developed only as a metrical necessity; (as MacDonell discovers, though it is not easy to find this in the *Prāśādhya*, there may be some such reference not at once visible). *विशेष*, on the other hand, is a phonetic development unconnected with metro, and arises out of physiological necessity, (which, I suspect, is at the bottom of खरभक्ति also).
- (f) Even in the case of some internal sandhi changes where य and व are involved as second members of a conjunct, the principle of *starabhaṭi* underlies the eventual changes; e.g. वैयाकरण from व्याकरण; वैयाधिकरण्य from व्याधिकरण वैयाद्य from व्याय, वैयाघ्र from व्याघ्र; दैय from द्युः; दौवारिक from दार; दौव, दौवन from आ, आन; दौवसद from आपद; दौवरितक from अः.

In some of these instances the original conjunct is the result of the union of र and अ, as in व्याकरण, व्याधिकरण, and व्याघ्र (व्याजिघ्रतीति व्याघ्रः); but in cases like द्युः, दार, आ, आपद, अः the conjunct does not flow from an original इ or उ and अ. All these instances throw a very significant light on the natural basis of *Starabhaṭi*.

This principle of *Anaptyxis* is noticed by comparative philologists; witness Karl Brugmann, *Kurze, Vergleichende Grammatik Der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, §§ 312-313

Dr. P. D. Gané (*Introduction to Comparative Philology*, p. 51) also notices *Anaptyxis*, but he does not seem to distinguish between

Starabhatta (with a fractional *matra*) and the full splitting up of the conjunct which I have called विक्षेप. He lumps together the Vedic इन्द्र (इन्द्र), दक्षत (दक्षत) and the full विक्षेप of the modern vernaculars as in M प्रकार for Skr प्रकार, M भस्म for Skr भस्म etc.

This short survey will show that *Starabhatta* furnishes the underlying principle of विक्षेप in an embryonic stage that at an early stage the विक्षेप-like formation peeped out in occasional words like इनियान् and पुरप्, and that the very name *anaptixia* which simply means "folding back, unfolding," marks a partial separation of the folded petals of the conjunct but I would finally point to the significance of the grammatical change yielding a split nasal as in मनकि (मन्), ह्यदि (हन्), दिनसि (दिस्), मुनकि (मुन्), &c. as marking the intermediate step leading up to the विक्षेप of the modern vernaculars, beginning in the Prākṛit period.

I find the term विक्षेप used by Mīrkaṇḍya in his *Prāhara Sārasa*, II, 47, where, however, he uses it as applying to dissolution of (vowel—?) *sandhi*, or rather to the absence of coalescing of vowels by *sandhi*.

But he deals with the splitting up of conjuncts in III—77 ff and his term for the process is विकषेप (III, 77) which he explains in the gloss as विक्षेप. He also notes ह्रस्वरत्न as well as the interpolation of इ, व, अ in certain cases.

NOTE B

(Lecture IV—Section I)

(See P. 187 of the Lecture)

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON THE WIDE *Ī* AND *Ō*

(With reference to Dr Tessitori's criticism of my theory, in the Indian Antiquary, September 1918 Vol XLII, Part DXCIX)

The main point of difference between Dr Tessitori and myself is—

That Dr Tessitori derives the wide ई-औ from अइ-अउ and the row one from अय-अव, while I hold the opposite view (ई-औ (wide) from अय-अव, अय्-अव्, and ऐ-औ (narrow) from अइ-अउ)

(a) Dr Tessitori regards अय्, अउत् &c. as deceptive spellings, य being a mere writing peculiarity for इ. To prove this he goes back to Prākṛit works even and cites from Jacob's *Mahārāṣṭrī 'Erzählungen*, pp. 72, 63, 61, 60,—

गयं, पयसारिओ, कयवय, and वयर for
गइ, पइसारिओ, कइवय, and वइर.

My reply—The Mes on which Jacobi based his edition were written in V S 1611 and 1660 respectively. It is, therefore, clear that the scribes adopted the *actual* spelling in vogue in that period, a spelling quite unknown to Prākṛit. (I leave aside the possible explanation about गय, that it may as well be Prākṛit for गत (instead of गति), as the other instances show य as the evolve of इ).

(b) Dr Tessitori has been oscillating in his views as to the nature of this य found really as an evolve of इ in O. W. Rāj. Thus—

- (1) In his 'Notes' § 4-(5) he gives य as a real change of इ and cites वयर, वयराणी, पयसर as instances from O. W. R. works.
- (2) Later on he regards वयर &c. as instances of "writing peculiarity" only, again, वयर, वयराणी as Prākṛit *tatsamas*, and again he says that the य may be a corruption of the Sanskrit यै (a thing quite unknown to the Prākṛits).
(See his "Bardic Survey", App. 1. P. 76)
- (3) Lastly, in Indian Antiquary, September 1918, he calls the य a writing peculiarity for इ and वयराणी as a *tatsama* in part modelled on वयर.

Here is a bewildering conflict of views.

(c) *The change of उ to व*

While reporting his objections to the reversion of उ to व in O. W. Rāj., he tries now to account for the change of उ to व in words like देशवर, देवल, देवर by seeing therein the interpolation of what he calls a वयुति, citing, as instances in support of this theory, रावुल, रावुत and such like Mār words.

My answer to this would be this.

These cases of उ are not due to वयुति interpolation, but to the turning of अ (in व) to उ just as Mār turns अ to इ in words like किमाड &c. Any how the वयुति argument will not explain the case of कवण back from कउण, because, as Dr Tessitori himself holds, this वयुति comes in after a long vowel, (in कवण, the अ of क is short). [By the way, I may note here that वयुते, and even वयुति, is erroneous nomenclature, started perhaps by Dr Hoernle who called Hēmachandra's वयुति अकार by the wrong name वयुति as if the अ which was said to be heard as य and therefore called वयुति अकार got some curious thing like वयुति, see Dr Hoernle's Introduction to *Prākṛita Lāṭīshana*, P. XXVII].

(d) My theory that languages do not proceed on a uniform line of march but move backwards and forwards, is regarded by Dr. Tessitori as novel and requiring proof. I may, in answer, simply point to the instances of reversion of उ to ङ, back to उ and again to ङ, नै to न and back to न; to कइ-करी-कै fluctuating on the stream of language to and fro, also मछइ-मछे-छइ-छे and the like. Nay, Dr. Tessitori's own views support me. He says -

"The passing of one language into another being always effected through gradual steps, it is natural that whenever the older language is made to finish and the younger one to commence, some of the features of the former must be found in the early stage of the latter and likewise some of the features of the latter in the ultimate stage of the former".

(His "Notes", Reprint, P 5, ll 16-20 = Ind. Ant Feb 1914 Vol XLIII, Part D&L, P 25)

I also find Beames using the very same words as I have now used, many years before me, which I see only after I wrote my remark in question. He says -

"The process seems, like so many phonetic processes in the Indian languages, to *work backwards and forwards* and to branch out into further collateral developments, as into ङ, र, and the like".

("Comparative Grammar", Vol I, P 238 § 60 The italics are mine.)

(e) Dr. Tessitori regards the भै-भौ as steps from अइ-अउ towards the wide sound, and he contends that such भै-भौ are found in Gujarātī Mss of the 16th Century A. D. and thereabouts.

As I have already pointed out the भै-भौ in Mss are but a feeble attempt to symbolize the wide sound, and do not represent any preliminary step. As regards Gujarātī Mss and the भै-भौ symbols, I have made a patient scrutiny of many old Gujarātī Mss of the period between V S 1557 and 1656, with the result that nowhere do these Mss use भै for the evolution of अइ-अउ and that when in very rare instances these symbols (भै) are found, there are these either because the scribe was a Mīrāvādī or one under Mīrāvādī influence.

(f) Dr. Tessitori is himself not quite clear as to how these भै-भौ were pronounced. He has at least three varying and more or less conflicting theories about this. Thus in The Indian Antiquary, September 1918, P 227 he states that the भै-भौ were pronounced as diphthongs. At P 228, of the same number and in Note 10 therein he states that the *sadbhara* भै-भौ were not pronounced exactly the same way as *latsama* भै-भौ, but that they were probably pronounced in a way similar to the भै-भौ of Hindi. And yet at Pp 231-232 of the same number he tells

as that the Hindi *भे-औ* sounds are identical with the wide *ई-औ* of Mar and Gujarātī except that they represent a slightly earlier stage, the very same stage of the Mārṣī Gujarātī diphthongs as they must have been pronounced previous to their transition into the wide vowels, *ई-औ*.

Now, there are obvious objections to all these theories. The pure diphthong, for instance, could not have suddenly jumped into the wide sound. Dr Tessitori seems to have a lurking suspicion that the *भे-औ* were not sounded as pure diphthongs but fighting shy of the wide sound, lingered somewhere before the fully developed wide sound, and yet he again regards the *भे-औ* as representing the fully developed wide sound. This confusion lands him into apparent inconsistencies.

I prefer the inverted *mātri* to mark the wide sound, because *भे-औ*, as *सद्यः सधिस्रस*, keep the components *भ-इ* and *अ-उ* slightly apart from each other, whereas *ई-औ*, as *सकीर्ण सधिस्रस*, hold the components *भ-इ*, *अ-उ* interfused.

(g) The ear test on which I rely strongly is rejected by Dr. Tessitori as a false guide. I do not see how. After all, the question of pronunciation depends mainly, if not entirely, on the *hearing* of the sound. Oral tradition, *गुरुसंप्रदाय*, is most valuable in this matter. Mere dead formulae and symbols are useless without such teaching. Live sound must be presented to the ear. Even Dr. Tessitori himself ran into a wrong interpretation of the wide sound when he had to depend on accounts given by others and see only written symbols. He has made a clear admission about this in his "Bardic Survey", J. A. S. Beng N. S. XII, 1916 A. D., P. 74 para 1. True, he now (The Indian Antiquary September, 1918, P. 232, n. 16) says that he misunderstood the signs *ai-au* in Sir George Grierson's L. S. I. IX, ii, and suggests that this was the source of his error. But Sir George has distinctly stated (L. S. I. IX-ii, P. 20) that *ai* and *au* stand for the sounds in "hat and hot". And Dr. Tessitori's exact words ("Bardic Survey", P. 74) are— "I had never been in India and for all information concerning pronunciation in Gujarātī and Mārṣī had completely to rely on the account given by others which I afterwards found to be incorrect". The words underlined here show something different from the written reference in Sir George's L. S. I, IX ii. I maintain that you have only to sound *अइ-अउ* and you see the connection and causal relation with the wide sound (*ई-औ*).

(h) *Samprasāraṇa*—In cases like
कपसद्विद्य—कसवटी—कसवटी—कसोटी,

and घनतरक—घणयारक—घणद्वरक—घणेरु.

Dr Tessler objects to the changes of व-य to उ-इ (i. e. to *sampraśāraṇa*) on the ground that *sampraśāraṇa* is not possible (in O W Rāj) where the व or य is initial, also that if the व-य are stressed there is no *sampraśāraṇa*, but if unstressed they take *samprasaraṇa*. This is just the opposite of my contention. When व-य (or rather the अ therein) is accented there is *samprasaraṇa* and if it is unaccented *sampraśāraṇa* is prevented by the shifting of the accent to the preceding अ (of अय-अव), thus turning the अ of य-व into a द्रवत अ and consequently dropping it, leaving अय्-अव् as the immediate cause of the wide sound.¹

The genesis of *samprasaraṇa* in words coming into the vernaculars is thus—*samprasaraṇa* is due to a softening of effort in pronouncing the semi-vowels it is a liquefaction of these sounds. This is rendered possible when the य्-व् are intervocalic, for the two adjacent vowels provide a vocalic atmosphere and influence. This reduces the strong य-व to weak य-व in the first instance and then finally to इ-उ, the strong य-व (which Dr Hoernle, in his Introduction to the *Prākrita Lākṣaṇa* P XXVII, § 4, happily calls semi consonants) turn into weak य-व (which Dr Hoernle calls semi vowels) then these melt away into the vocalic condition इ, उ, under the action of an intervocalic medium.

Thus, the conditions requisite for *samprasaraṇa* are—

(a) Intervocalic position of य्-व्,

and (b) stress on the अ of य-व

The *sampraśāraṇa* in the following words may at first sight appear to violate condition (a) cited above

| | |
|-------------------|----------|
| (1) ध्वनि (Skr) | धून (G) |
| (2) स्वर (Skr) | सूर (G) |
| (3) द्वि (Skr) | दुइ (H) |
| (4) व्यक्ति (Skr) | वीयत (G) |

1 Dr Tessler will find himself on the horns of a dilemma in the case of words like नकुल-नडल-नोळ, बडुलसरी-बडलसरी (बडलसरी by metathesis)-बोसली. For the अव in these words is undoubted as also the narrow ओ in the final word-form. He must either admit that the narrow sound here has come out of अव and give up the theory that अव (and अय) yields the narrow sound or convert this अव here into अय to account for the narrow sound and in so doing admit प्रतिस्मरण (change of उ to व) which he has throughout denied.

But it is an apparent violation only. For, in these cases a minute *स्वरमय* steps in at first and yields *ध्रुवनि, सूत्र, द्वै, व्रै* which is intermediate steps, thus furnishing the required intervocalic position for *य* and *व*.

(k) *Accent and its influence*—

Dr Tessitori is puzzled at my use of accent. He asks if it is the old Sanskrit accent. It cannot be in the case of Prakrits and vernaculars. Even the old Sanskrit accent was partly pitch and partly stress, no one is yet decided as to its true nature, and scholars like Beames and Dr Sir R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar have used the term "accent" in the sense of "stress" in dealing with the phonology of modern vernaculars. There was therefore no occasion to ask what I meant by 'accent', or to contend that my accent did not fall on the same syllable on which the Sanskrit accent falls.

SUPPLEMENT.

LECTURE III

(I) P 76 After (5) Add —

Bhāṇḍārkar's *Kidāmbarī*, P. 33, l 1 (h. II Dhruva's edition) has *व्यापारी* *विपणि* *माडया* *सुसुक्तिप्रवाल* ; and *Silārati no Rāsa* (V. S 1700), P. 60, l 7 (*Pr Kidāmbarī* edition) has *व्यापारी* (though l 8 next after it has *व्यवहारी*)

All I can say to this is that *व्यापार*, as a false word, must have originated before Bhāṇḍārkar's time

(II) P 89, after para 1 add —

For an enlightening discussion on the connection between these sounds, *व* (or *४*) and *क*, and the physiological instability of some races see Max Müller's *Science of Language*, Vol II, pp 183-185. The following statement therein is noteworthy— "Physiologically we can only account for this confusion by inefficient articulation, the tongue striking the palate bluntly half way between the *l* and the *t* points, and thus producing more of a dental, sometimes more of a palatal noise "

I may add that the phonetic affinity between *व* and *क* is indirectly suggested by the fact that the junction of *वर्ण* letters with *य* yields *वर्ण* letters in Prakrit and a similar junction of *वर्ण* letters with *य* yields the same result in rustic Gujarātī. सत्य *Slr*, सच्च *Pr*, वयम *G* वय (rustic *G.*).

(III) P. 94; n. 42.

गुः (Skr.), (M.) गुडे.

Dr. Bhandarkar (Lectures, P. 190) traces गुडे (M.) to प्रगुति (Skr.) through गहुडि (Pr.). The sense as well as sound-changes favor the derivation from गुः.

LECTURE IV Section 1

(I) P. 113. After the definition of अक्षर, add—

But अक्षर signifies a vowel also. See *Rik-Pratishāhya*, 20, and 23 (M. Muller's edition):

ओमादृस्वाः सप्तमान्ताः स्वराणामग्ये दीर्घा उभये स्वक्षणे ।²⁰

अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं चाक्षरादम् ।²¹

(II) P. 127, n. 12. Continue the note thus:—

A still stronger indication is found in the change of उ to व (in Marāṭhi) when inflectional changes remove the accent from उ; e. g. पाउंस (nominative); पविसति (locative).

Gojari itself has the word पाउंस (with a व) in literature of the nineteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Vikrama era:

(1) पावस ऋतुमां पदण स्वां मासे

(Dayārām; *Dayārām-Lṛṣṭa-Kārya-maṇi-māḍā*, Part II, P. 296, pada 44, edited by Joshi Chhotālāl Gīrījīśankar and Vasantaram Harikrishna Śāstrī).

(2) पावस रते वणु मेघयी पण्णि घरे जेम वेह

(*Silavali-ko-Rāsa*; V. S. 1700, P. 60, l. 10, *Pr. Kāryamāḍā* edition.)

(3) ठाठ मांडयो ठगलो रे वगल पावस वेरी

(*Scardāpa*, Dhiro Bhagat, XXII, 1).

The word, पावस, here means ऋतुम्, the rainy season, (as in Skr.),¹ not "rain" (as in Marāṭhi), thus it could not have been an importation from Marāṭhi by Dayārām, Nemavijaya, or Dhiro. Nor could the steps have been ऋतुम्-पावस-पावस, because Prakṛit itself has पाउंस with the vowel, उ; (*Kumdrapāḍa-charita*, I. 9, 21, II, 32; &c.). Therefore पावस

1. In the illustration from Dhiro, the sense is changed by दृष्ट्या and पावस means—"a vow observed in the rainy season," पावस वेसुं is just like नवरात्र वेसवा (=to observe the vow during the nine nights, i. e. nine days, in Āśvina (1st to 10th, bright half) for worshipping the goddess). वगले पावस वेडे has acquired proverbial currency.

is a clear case of *prati-samprasāraṇa*. Nor could it be explained by the interpolation of *v̄ āgama* followed by a change of *उ* to *अ*; पाठस-पाठस-पाठस; a process involving needless circumlocution.

(III) P. 129. अहम्.—I regard the importation of *अ* as queer, because *अहं* comes in generally in the case of words in the neuter gender (Si Hē. VIII-iv-354), whereas *अहं* cannot by any strain be regarded as in the neuter gender. *अहं* changed to *अम्* may be regarded as a case of metathesis or of the shifting of the *ह* to the beginning of a word (as per *utsarga I*—(a), under class B *infra* Lecture IV, section II, opening pages).

Dr Sir R. G. Bhindārkar (Lectures, P. 207 and n. 4) traces *अहं* to *अहम्* (Skr.). He adds that the *उ* of *हउ* is that of the nominative singular which was freely used in Ap. as the Gujarātī *मो* is at present. Be this as it may, my difficulty about the *anusāra* in *ह* will remain as it is, whereas my derivation will show that it is referable to the original *म्* in *अहम्*.

I recognise that Pāṇini V-iii-71 (अव्ययसर्वनाम्नामकञ् प्राकृटे.) and the *śāstra* thereon (अनोकारसकारमकारादविविक्ताव्ययम्) would render *अहम्* a possibility (though the illustrations given in the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* and the *Alaṅkāra-Dhātūśāstra* do not give *अहम्*); none the less, I feel no necessity to go for help to such out-of-the-way forms when a simpler process is at hand (*अहं-हम्-हउ-हुं*), based on the word *अहं* which must be more commonly in use.

(IV) P. 153. Add after सर्व-स्व the following.—

चतुर्वर्त्मकं चउव्यहउ चउहुं-चौहुं

(V) P. 247, last para. त्याग (II.), Add.—

We find a similar combination of *उ+अ.म्* in *Vimala-prabandha; Khandā, III. 144;*

गरम चउइ गजघट त्याविउ ॥

Also, 161;

लयावई रे छल यधामणा ।

So also in *Bhūlaṅga, Kaddambari.*—

उठी इन्द्रायुधनि त्यायु; कतार्य पक्षान

(Kesavalāl Dhruva's edition, P. 88, l. 5.)

LECTURE IV. (SECTION II)

The History of the Gujarātī Language, its Evolution.

I now come to Class B of the *utsargas* governing the phonetic evolution of Gujarātī words, viz: *utsargas* partially peculiar to Gujarātī, i. e. such as are shared with other Indian vernaculars but with some variation. Under this class, only one important *utsarga* may be treated. It deals with the position of the weak *ह* in Gujarātī words. This *utsarga* is shared by Gujarātī with Hindi but in a partial sense only; for in Gujarātī हमारु has a weak *ह*, whereas in Hindi हमारा has the strong *ह*. [I have already compared the strong and weak *ह* sounds with the कण्ठ्य and औरस्य *ह* sounds of the *Pāṇiniya Śikṣā* (See *supra*, P. 66, also *supra*, P. 115). Evidently, the dual nature of the *ह* sound came down from still earlier times, witness the *Rik-Prātisākhya*, Paṭala I, 18:—कण्ठयोऽकारः प्रथमपञ्चमौ च द्वारप्सामौ (v. ऊप्साम) केचिदेता उरस्यौ। Uvats on this says:—प्रथमोदकारः पञ्चमो विसर्जनीयः एतौ चोप्सामां मध्ये कण्ठस्थानौ वेदितव्यौ। केचिदाचार्या एतौ हकारविसर्जनीयौ उरःस्थानानिच्छन्ति॥]. But as the principle of denoting the *ह* is recognised, whether it be strong or weak, I put the *utsarga* under Class B and not under A. Marāṭhī is distinct from Gujarātī and Hindi in this respect; it drops the *ह* in words like आमचें or preserves it in the original conjunct, as in आजी, आजास, तुजी, तुजास; or separate as in वहीण, वहीम, तदान (from वृणा), लदान (from लृण), पहिल &c., (unlike Gujarātī वहीन, वहीम, वहील etc.); or, very rarely, moves it to the end of the words, as in मोठा (M); (Shr.) महान. In this feature Hindi also differs from Gujarātī and keeps the *ह* distinct, पहिल for पहिलें and the like; and this is to be expected from the sturdy nature of the Hindi-speaking race, for the *ह* shifted to the beginning and joined with the consonant will necessarily be weak in sound.

Now we may lay down the *utsarga* for Gujarātī specifically:—

Utsarga about the position of ह in Gujarātī words—enunciated.

The *ह* undergoes three different phonetic conditions:—

UTSARGA I.

(क) *Shifting of situation.*—The ह situated in any part of a word either as part of a conjunct or a pure simple non-conjunct, or an aspirating element in a class aspirate,

- (a) generally moves towards the beginning of the word,
or (b) (rarely) moves towards the end of a word.

[Note:—The non-conjunct ह may either be derived as ह from Sanskrit or be a phonetic evolnte of a class aspirate: e. g.

| Skr. | Prākṛ. | Gujarātī. |
|--------|--------|-------------|
| वहनं | वहणं | व्हण |
| कफोणिः | कहोणी | कहणी, कहूणी |

This ह, after shifting place, remains either as संकीर्ण or संमृष्ट with its nearest letter.

- (ख) An extraneous ह is interpolated into a word, when the original word, or the intermediate form, possesses none.

Here also the ह remains either संकीर्ण or संमृष्ट.

- (ग) The ह existing in an original word is lost.

This ह may either be part of a conjunct, or संकीर्ण with a vowel, or may be the aspirating element of a class aspirate. In the last case the corresponding unaspirata remains precipitated.

EXAMPLES.

(क) *The shifting of the situation of ह.*

(क)—(अ)—(संमृष्ट हवार)

(From original conjunct हकार)

| Skr. | Pr. or Apabhṛ. | Guj. |
|--------|----------------|-------|
| अहणकं | अहणह | अहण |
| पारिणः | पहणी | पहानी |

1. Si-Hd. VIII-i-75, dealing with the change of हण to व्ह, gives व्ह alone among the instances; and VIII-i-79 would lead one to suppose that व being one of the consonants dropped from a conjunct, whether it be upper or lower, व्ह may not be a form at all. But VIII-ii-77 notes the dropping of व्ह when an upper member is a conjunct, and व्ह

| Skr. | Pr. or Apabhr. | Guj. |
|--------------|------------------------|---------|
| प्रस्तवकः | पण्डवउ | पदानो |
| कृष्णः | कण्डु | कदान |
| (ययम्) | तुम्हे | तहमे |
| (युष्मदीयकं) | ² तुम्हारउं | तहमारुं |

(From original simple (non-conjunct) हकार)

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| प्राणुणः | प्राणुणउ | पह्णुणो |
| भगिनी | चदिणी | चहन |
| कथयति | कहइ | कह |
| वदति | वहइ | वह |
| वेद्य | वेदु | व्हे (= a hole) |
| (त्वदीयकं) | ² तुदारउं | तदारुं |
| (मदीयकं) | ² मदारउं | मदारुं |
| वितस्तिः | विदत्थी | व्हँत्य |
| मदत् (+ क) (मदत्कं) | महन्तउं | म्होइं ³ |
| | यदिल्लउं (<i>Ditya</i>) | यहँ |
| शिथिलकं | सिथिलउं ⁴ | सहँ |

is actually given as an instance of श्लोष. Thus it would seem that both सण्ड and एण्ड are recognised words, the principle of समवप्रप्तौ यथादर्शने लोपः and that too some times alternately (पर्यायेण)-as in दारं-दारं-वारं stated in the gloss on VIII-ii-79, being applicable in this case also. एण्ड is actually used in *Karpūra-Manjarī*, एण्डभं प्दानयोच । विमुणदि तणुलट्टीचगिमलगिमं अ ॥ (Act II, St. 24). एण्ड is also used in the same play at two other places III-28 and IV-8.

2. See Si-Hē. VIII-iv-434.

3. For a detailed discussion on this word See Appendix A, where I have examined and answered Mr. K H Dhruva's arguments in favour of मोइ.

4. According to Si-Hē. VIII-i-215 it should be सिथिलउं. But the general rule about य being changed to ह must have prevailed at some time or other, and we have to trace रहँ from the form so derived.

शिथिल means "slack", "loose", what is slack or loose is easy, hence, the word रहँ meaning "easy" is traceable in sense also from शिथिल.

| Skṛ | Pr or Apabhr | Guj |
|--------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| वहभक् | वहहउ (वहभउ, वहहउ) | व्हालो |
| वहभ | वहहु | व्हालम, वाळम |
| वहोणि | कहोणी | कहाणी, कहूणी optionally |
| विभानर | विहाणउ | व्हाथु |

सकीर्णहकार

(Original हकार—part of a conjunct)

| Skṛ | Pr or Apabhr | Guj |
|-----------|---------------------------|------------------|
| उष्णक् | उष्णउ | ह्नु |
| यय | ⁵ अम्हे, अम्हो | हमे-हमो |
| अस्मदीयक् | अस्मारउ | हमारु |
| घीष्म | मिष्णु | घीम ⁶ |

(Original हकार a non conjunct)

| | | |
|----------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| अधुना | अधुणा (हउणा, हवणा) | हमणां |
| गर्दभक्क | गरहहउ | गपेहो |
| गर्दभक् | गरहउ | गहो |
| मातृगृह | ⁷ माइहउ (माइहउ, माहिभउ) | माहियर |
| महिषी | महिसी (म्हइसी, म्हइसी) | मेश ⁸ |
| द्रव | द्रहउ | धरो |
| समहक् | समहउ | सघरो (=सचय; collection) |
| महण | महणु | घरण |
| महण | महणु-घयण | घन (=intoxication) |

Dr Sir R G Bhandarkar derives *વહ* from *घृह* (Skṛ) through the व्यत्यय process (metathesis)—See his Lectures P 190 That derivation leaves the *विह* *वह* unaccounted for unless we artificially import an *ह*, for which there is no occasion in view of the natural derivation from *शिशिर*

5 Si-Hè-VIII-ii-106

6 “घीम रमवी”, “घीमलो साह” are expressions known as connected with Holi festivities Instead of *Vasanta Grīhama* is used here

7 Si-Hè-VIII-I-135

8 *ह-वै+ह-भे

| Skr. | Pr. or Apabh. | Guj. |
|-----------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| ओधूमः | गोहूय (गोहूय, गोहूय) | घडं |
| गभीरकं | गहीरवं | घेरुं |
| गोषा | गोषा | घो |
| अप्रहकं | अप्रहवं | अघरुं (= difficult) |
| गृहीतककः | गहियलउ (घयलउ) ⁹ | घलो |
| कटादिका | कडादिआ | कडाई ¹⁰ |
| (<i>Dīya</i>) | पुक्ता (पूका-पूदा; द्रभा-दर) | फोई (= father's sister) |

(हकार existing as the aspirata element in a class aspirate.)

| | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| अष्टादश | अट्टारद (भटारद, हटार) | हराड (by व्यत्यय) |
| बान्धवः | बान्धयु | भाण्डु |
| जरठकः | जरठउ (गरठउ, गरठो) ¹¹ | घरठो-घयठो |
| सौरभं | (direct सौरभ) | सोडम ¹² |
| (<i>Dīya</i>) | ओउसरी (= अन्वयरणं) | होजरी |
| (<i>Dīya</i>) | ओडूण (कं) | होडणुं, होयणुं |

9. Cf. *Vasanta-Vilasa* (V. S. 1508)

इम देखी रिखि कामनी कामनी किनरकंठि । नेहगहेली न मानिनी माननी मूकइ गेठि ॥

नेहगहेली-स्नेहयी घरेली—"possessed" (by love), therefore, mad; cf.

Skr. यस्त = आविष्ट, possessed.

Cf. also *Kānhaḍadī-Prabandha* (V. S. 1512)

राउ कर्णरे गहिउ धयु (Khaṇḍa I, St. 23)

In the opening portion of Lecture IV, Section I, I have traced घलो from गृहीतः through the steps घरलो, घयलो. (See P. 23 *supra*). This need not be regarded as conflicting with the present analysis. Both are alternative possibilities. The रु termination in Gujarātī can be traced to the Apabhramśa termination रुठ, which takes the place of the क termination. (Si-Hē-VIII-iv-429.)

10. Not from वषथ् (Skr.) कष्ट (Pr), because कडाई is mainly used for frying things in, not for boiling them; (वषथ् = to boil).

11. See instance in the quotation, *supra* P. 108, n. 53, to which may be added the following:— गरठो माईवाय परि होई

(*Rulmāngada-Kathā* by Mandana, V. S. 1574, date of copy).

12. रु changed to ण; then ह+र=ह; the व left from म is changed to य and then to म

[The *Dīkī nāmā-mālā* I, 155 has ओढण=उत्तरीयम्. In *Varga VI*, 72 होरण is given in the sense of वस्त्र. If this latter word is accepted as the source word of होयण, this instance will have to be excluded. But looking to the meaning (उत्तरीय, i. e. a cloth used as a wrap over the body, a specific sense and not a general one as in वस्त्र) and to the fact that होडण is a verb in G. and that the is a र, not a ढ, in होरण, while होडण has a ढ, I prefer the derivation from ओढण.]

होडण must be a verb made from the noun; or there may have been a root like ओढ in some Dēśya language.]

(क) — (b) — हकार shifted towards the end of a word.

(हकार a non-conjunct in original).

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. | Guj. |
|----------------|---|---------------------|
| कथितकं | कहिदण (कीयणं) | कीधु |
| पृथुरः | पहुंहु (पडणु) | पूख पख (optionally) |
| प्रत्यभिज्ञानं | पवहिआण ¹³ | पीछाण, पिछाण |
| अभिज्ञान | अहिण्णाण (अहिनाण-अइह्णाण) ¹⁴ | अँषाण |

13. पवहिआण (by व्यत्यय); पवहिआण (दुत्तर अकारलोप); पइह्णाण (इ shifted towards the end); पीछाण.

Hindī has पीछान, see Dr Bhīndārkar's *Philological Lectures*, P. 190. He regards पवहिआण (ना) as Hindī.

14. ह+न become ॐ, the process is this. ह+न, which consists of a nasal and a nasality, becomes nasalized ढ (ँ) and ह+न become ॐ; and the ॐ. (See the *utsarga* about nasals below).

The word is found in the form of अहिनाण in

(a) *Sūta-harṇa* by Karmāṇa Mantri (V. S. 1526),

राम भणइ अहिनाण कलपोइ सीतवर्णं य सार्चा;

(b) *Vimala-prabandha* (V. S. 1568),

एनि परि बोझ्या अहिनाण (IX, 20);

(c) *Sāvatari no-Rāsa* (V. S. 1700),

(1) अहिनाणी विदुनामनी (*Khanda V-ix dūho 1*);

(अहिनाणी is feminine here),

(2) ओझियो अहिनाण, हो पयो मारा (*Khanda VI-iv-1*)

(3) साद अहिनाणे ओझियो एनि (*Khanda VI-viii 11*)

Preception —

पुष्पा

पद्मा

पद्मा

(Here the *ह* remains unmoved)

[Notes —

(1) It will be observed in the above instances that generally in the originals the *ह* is situated in the second *fruits* (syllable) of the words, consequently the *ह* in going towards the beginning, of necessity, mixes with the first syllable either as a conjunct or as a संकीर्ण sound an inflexion. The only exceptions are —

गरुडह, गरुह, माहुरु, पद्माही, सोरभ

(सप्रह and अप्रह are only apparent exceptions, for the स and अ, as prefixes, are detachable elements and the म in each begins the पद. If, however, the whole word is taken together the reason for *ह* not going up to the first syllable is clear. *ह* is caught up by ग as the two (ग and ह) are phonetically very kindred and so its further progress is arrested. In these words the *ह* does not move as far as the first *fruits*, but gets caught in the second *fruits* and establishes itself there in a complete fusion with the original letter of that *fruits*, and so *ह*+*ह* become *घ*. *ह*+*ह* become *ह*. *ह*+*ह* also become *ह* and *ह*+*ह* necessarily become *ह*+*ह*: e हि

(2) *यह* and *गरह* fare differently from the above. The *ह* travels up to the first *fruits* and mixes with *य* into *वह* and with *ग* into *घ*. The reason is that in each case the *ह* is attracted and caught up by such letter as is phonetically nearest in affinity to it: *व* in स्थान or प्रयत्न or both. This explains the apparent unevenness of the phenomenon.

(The *Pr Kāvya Mālā* edition is obviously in error in printing साद सदीनामे in this last instance.)

To this may be added *Bhāṣanā Kālambari Pīṭhādga* V. 104, वादशीर्षे जे कथा ते कहिछि अदिनाम, but I hesitate because it is an arbitrary emendation of the original text सिधाय (सिधाय = अद्य) by the editor, Mr K. H. Dhruva. It may or may not be justifiable.

(3) Another noteworthy feature is that wherever there is a *सवलसंयोग* formed by the *ह*, the shifting of

The shifting of the ह is accompanied by a lengthening of the preceding vowel, if the conjunct is strong.

the *ह* is accompanied by a lengthening of the preceding vowel: लहृणं-नहृने-न्दाहं; whereas if the *ह* forms a *निर्वलसंयोग*, no such process follows: अहो-हमे, not हामे.

I have adverted to this phenomenon in my last lecture (Lecture III) under the head of *Balance of Quantity*, when laying down the general principles governing phonetic formations and mutations. (*Vide supra*, Pp. 100-101.)

In the *Prākṛits* and especially in *Apabhraṃśa* conjuncts of this nature involving a *ह* in them were in very many cases *निर्वलसंयोग*s. This is indicated by the metrical quantity of the syllable preceding the conjunct in lines like the following:—

दिक्खि अहारा कंठ

(Si-Hê-VIII-iv-484.)

In old Gujarātī also this weak conjunct is noticeable even in

Conjunct weak even in tatsama words in old Gujarātī.

tatsama words, which may, in so far, be regarded as *tadbhava*.—

सरवरूपि हरि रंगि राचि
वृंदावनि गोपी मध्य नाचि

साचो सोहि ब्रह्मचारी

(From a work of *Padmanābha*; copy written in V.S. 1715, *Gujarātī Śātī Patra* Vol. XII, May.)

Here the *य* in *मध्य* is *लघुप्रत्यय* and so *य* is a weak conjunct. But the instance for our purpose here is the weak conjunct *य* in *ब्रह्मचारी*, as the line would not scan metrically correct if the *य* were taken as a strong conjunct. Even at present *ब्रह्मचारी* is pronounced with a weak *य* colloquially, and in one of the songs sung by *Nāgar* women at the thread ceremony of a boy we find a similar weak conjunct:

“ ब्रह्मचार टोपी कम्हां भरी ”

“ लीली टोपी ब्रह्मचार भत भरी.

Several instances of the weak conjunct are found in Bhīma Kavi's *Hari Līlā* (V. S. 1574, date of copy of the Manuscript) Kṣāṇ VIII:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| (1) भणइ प्रल्हाद अछइ एक सत्र । | |
| तह्यो भणइ ते कसत्र | (Stanza 32) |
| (2) छत्र उपदेश कहु तह्य तेह । | (Stanza 33) |
| (3) नील छह्यारी मानइ नही | (Stanza 48) |
| (4) भणइ प्रल्हाद कहु एक बात | (Stanza 51) |
| (5) निरद तह्यारू साचूं सही | (Stanza 58) |

The conjuncts in black type in these instances are निर्बलसंयोगs, as the *chopāī* metre will show.

By way of contrast we find in this very same work (the same *Knāī*) the word प्रल्हाद with रहा treated as a strong conjunct too:—

- | | |
|--|----------|
| तेदनी नीति भणइ प्रल्हाद | (St. 29) |
| भणि प्रल्हाद पिता अवधारि | (St. 52) |
| ¹⁵ किहां तादाहु स्वामी प्रल्हाद | (St. 54) |
| मनसा हरि ध्याई प्रल्हाद | (St. 58) |

It seems that conjuncts of this nature were dealt with as strong or weak indifferently as suited the metrical convenience of the poet. However, the instances are quoted by me to show that this state of things evidences the prevalence of the weak conjunct.

[Hemachandra allows this license in favor of conjuncts containing *इ* and *हृ* in Prākṛit and even in Sanskrit. See his *Chhandonūśāna*, I-6 and gloss thereon. See *infra*, this Lecture, *Utsarga* XVII, Note, for fuller statement.]

15. The words किहां and तादाहु read in this line as कयहां and तदाहु; the metre shows that. It is the loose way of spelling the aspirated syllables that is responsible for the apparent increase in syllables. For further treatment of this point see, a few pages below, the discussion on लघुप्रत्यय हकार and प्राणध्वनि.

- (4) There are indications in Prakrit of the process of *ह* going up to the beginning of a word. As a rule

In Prakrit the *ह* as a rule, moves towards the *e* & *d* but some exceptions anticipate the Gujarati process

in Prakrit the *ह* moves towards the end—*स्नान-प्राण कृष्ण-कण्ठो, शृङ्ग-लण्ड-सण्ड, अस्मद्-अम्ह, युष्मद्-तुम्ह* etc, here the *स्यानी* (i.e. the original of the *हकार*) viz *म्* and *प्* (pure or included in *क्ष*) precede the final letters in the Sanskrit originals but in Prakrit the *ह* comes at the end (i.e. before the vowel of course) in its own syllable. If the *ह* is an unconjunct evolute it stays in the *locus* of its original e.g. *लभ लहो छल-छह, आभीर-आहीरो वल्लभ-वल्लहो*, etc

But there is one exception of one kind and another of an opposite kind in one the *ह* moves towards the beginning, in the other quite towards the end—

- (a) *गृह-पर* here (as I have already shown before¹⁶) although Hemachandra has denoted *पर* as a ready-made *ādeśa* of *गृह* (*Sr.H VIII n 144*) the real phonetic process involves the movement of the *ह* towards the beginning¹⁷

- (b) *घन्ति-वहद्*, and also alternately *गदद्* (*Sr.Hc.VIII n-112*) Here too in the latter form although Hemachandra gives it as a ready-made *ādeśa* the real phonetic course is the *विच्छेद* of the *ह* in *घ*, its march downwards towards the end, and final coalescence with the *अल्पप्राण ह* resulting in the class aspirate, *द*

- (5) The nature of *संसृष्टि* and *सकर* may be noted here. *संसृष्टि* is a condition of a conjunct of *ह*, with another
संसृष्टि a : *सकर*, their native les
 cribe l
 unaspirated consonant wherein both members remain without fusion into a class aspirate. This is clear from the definition already given by me in the *समाप्रकरण* at the opening of the first

16 See *s. pra* Lecture III, last page last foot-note

17 For a statement of reasons for assigning the beginning of a word as the place for this shifting of *ह* see Appendix B to this Lecture

section of this Lecture. The reason why there is no fusion into a class aspirate is to be found in the fact that the स्थान and प्रयत्न of ह् and the conjoined unaspirated consonant are so uncongenial mutually as to prevent such a result. When there is a close phonetic affinity, as in the case of ग् and ह्, the condition of संसृष्टि is transcended and we have संकर. संकर is a complete fusion of the ह् with the conjoined letter. It covers two kinds of cases:—

(1) संकर with a consonant,

and (2) संकर with a vowel.

(1) With a consonant—Only in the case of ग्+ह् is this संकर possible, as a rule, because, as already stated, their phonetic affinity is extremely close. So we have

गभीरकं—गहीरकं—घेरुं

ग्रहणं—ग्रहणं—घनं; etc. etc..

In rare cases there is a संकर between घ् and ह्, or द् and ह्, or च् and ह्; e. g.

बन्धु-भाण्ड; अण्ड-अभूज; महिषी-भेष; गर्दभक-गधो; गर्दभक-गधेडो;

द्रहक-धरो; अभिज्ञान-अंधाण; भगिनीपति-बदिणीई-बन्धेवी(G.); बंधेरी

(Surati Gnj.); प्रत्यभिज्ञान-पिछाण.

[Such संकर is sometimes found in the Apabhramśa and Prākṛit stages even: (Skr.) संस्मरति, (Pr.) संमरह्,

संकर of ह् found in the Apabhramśa stage sometimes, and occasionally in Sanskrit, in certain forms, e. g. अघोक्, घुमुत्ता, et cet..

(Ap.) संभरह्, *Vide Sr-III-VIII-iv-412*. जिह्वा (Pr.) *Sr-III-VIII-ii-57*, as indicated at P. 90. *supra*.

The same principle is exemplified in post-Apabhramśa to Gajaratī transition in G.

गभराउ which appears as गभरह् in *Silalati-no-Rāsa* (V. S. 1700), P. 227 XII, st. 4 (Pr. *Kārya-mālā* edition). "चन्द्रगुप्त अति गद्गयो."

A minute indication of the germ-stage of this phonetic principle can be seen even in the earlier stages, i. e. in Sanskrit, in forms

like *अपोर*, *धोधि* (from *दुह*), *बभ्रुस्सा* (from *ब्रु*), where the *द* inherent in the *घ* of *दुघ* (*दोघ*) and in the *घ* of *ब्रुघ*, moves to the beginning and gets completely fused together with *द* into *घ* and with *व* into *भ*. Similar is the case in *जिघृक्ष* (from *घृह*).¹⁸]

Otherwise, we have *समृष्टि* e g

वधिरक् — *वर्हरो*, *भगिनी* — *वर्हन*, and the like.

समृष्टि may be likened to a mechanical mixture while *संकर* to a chemical combination. In the latter a set of circumstances comes in, like a combining electric current or the like, and we have the fusion. This will account for variants like *वर्हरो* and *भाण्ड*. What the combining circumstances are may sometimes be difficult to discover. But an attempt to sound *व्हाण्ड* will show the phonetic

18 Dr P D Gune (in his Introduction to Comparative Philology P 35) sees in these phonetic changes an indication

The orthodox explanation of this phenomenon viz that roots like वृष्, वृध्, दृह् &c were originally वृष्, मृष्, धृष् &c, examined and dissented from

that the roots beginning with a mere medial (*वृ, वृ, दृ*) must have originally begun with a medial aspirate which was displaced before the following medial aspirate or *ह* in the body of the word. He suggests that the roots *वृष्, वृध्, दृह्, दृह*, must have originally been *वृष्, मृष्, धृष्, धृ*. In addition to the indication from grammatical forms

displaying the medial aspirate (*अभौसीव* (*वृष्*), *अमानवीव* (*वृध्*), and the like), his other grounds for this theory are —

- (a) Original medial aspirates are always in Greek changed to tenue aspirates (Skr) *नमस्*, (Gr) *nefos* (Skr) *भ्रातृ*, (Gr) *frator* (Skr) *धरति*, (Gr) *thareos* (Skr) *मधु*, (Gr) *methu*
- (b) Similarly in Latin, the Sanskrit *भरति* becomes *fero*, *भरति* is *fuam*, and so forth
- (c) Further, in Latin the tenue aspirate representing the original medial aspirate is turned into a simple medial between two words, (Skr) *वृष्यन्*, (Lat) *u b*, (Skr) *रुधिर*, (Lat) *rubros* (Skr) *इध्* (original of *इध्*), (Lat) *ibi*, (Skr) *नमस्* (Lat) *nebul*.
- (d) Conversely, the tenue aspirate Latin representative of the original aspirate finds in Sanskrit a pure medial to represent it Lat *for-es* Skr *दूर*, Lat *fortis*, Skr *दृढ*, Lat of *fendi* mentum, Skr *वध्*

impossibility and the necessity of an instantaneous fusion into भाण्ड. The distinction presented by अभूज and वृझे (Sk. वृध्यते, Pr. वृज्झद्)-वृच्चद वाई नव वृझे (*Dhīro Bhagat*)-is noteworthy: in one case there is the shifting of the ह and संकर, in the other the ह stands without throwing off the aspiration; but once the ह is thrown off and shifted, the वृ and ह unite in a संकर, because अवृज्झ is difficult to pronounce, वृ being medial in situation.

Māravādī has धारो for त्धारो, no doubt; but it does not affect the actual fact of वृ+ह remaining in a संमृष्टि in Gujarātī.

(2) (संकर of ह) with a vowel.

The only possible way for a consonant to unite with a vowel is for it to precede the vowel and thus the two must

Therefore, he concludes, the word दृढ, दार, दन्ध must have been originally धृढ, धार, मन्ध, that the roots गृध्, धृध्, मृध्, दग्, दह्, &c. must have originally been घृध्, धृध्, मृध्, धग्, धह् these he compares with Goth *gredus*, Eng. *grood*, Goth. *bindan*, Ger. *biēten*; Germ *binden*, Arm *dacel*; Goth. *dag*, Eng. *day*, and says their initials correspond to an original medial aspirate.

Unless Dr. Guné points out actual words like घृध्, मृध् &c. and *ghreeden, bhinden, &c.* It is clear that he is making a mere conjecture in this matter for which there is hardly any strong foundation. At any rate, apparently exceptional forms like जमोत्सीद्, जमान्सीद्, can be better explained by the principle of the shifting of the ह inherent in the वृ &c. to the beginning and getting merged by the process of संकर with the initial वृ &c. into मृ &c.

A better explanation suggested viz. the shifting of the ह to the beginning & getting merged with the initial consonant, the process being the result of the loss of the ह on account of sandhi.

What is most significant is that the change of the unaspirated mediae into aspirated medial in घृध्, दग्, etc. occurs only when the final aspirates turn into unaspirates जमोत्सीद्, जमान्सीद्, &c. get the वृ turned to मृ only when their final वृ &c. turns into द. Thus the aspiration of the initial does not occur independently, in fact it is dependent on the loss of aspiration of the final, which change is inevitable in the contact with the ह् of सीद् and the like compelling the वृ &c. to turn into द &c., as a phonetic necessity. This is a clear indication of the fact that the aspirate element moves from the final letter into the initial and thus secures its aspiration.

remain mutually fused together. Thus (Skr.) अयुना-(Pr.) अहुणा-इ+अङ्गा, इङ्गा-(G.) इवणां, इमणां. Some people in their desire to denounce the system of using इ in such words as इमे, इमारे, &c., forget the weak nature of इ and so sound it strong, which is of course wrong.

[Kavi Narmadāsankar at one¹⁹ time used to combine अ and इ in the impossible form अइ (as अइमे &c.) the vowel preceding the इ and written as a half letter in a conjunct. The absurdity of this is obvious, as a half vowel is a physical and phonetic impossibility.]

Presumably this theory of old time Indo-European roots like अयु, अङ्, &c. is not an invention of Dr Gunc'o, but is shared by him with earlier scholars Macdonell, (*Vedic Grammar for Students*) § 55 (P. 89), regarding this aspiration of the initial consonants of roots as a compensation for the loss of aspiration of the final consonants would at first seem to support my view but his note 1 on this statement suggests the opposite theory, he says it is not really compensation but the survival of the original initial aspiration of such roots, which was lost owing to the avoidance of an aspirate at the beginning and end of the same syllable and hence, he holds, the initial returns when the final aspirate disappears. I may therefore be perhaps considered as starting a heresy in rejecting the orthodox theory and accounting for the assumed initial aspirates in the above manner. But I expect my theory to be judged on its merits, not on prepossessions and mere adherence to orthodox views.

I would suggest the theory as under that in the parent Aryan there were the following distinguishable classes of roots —

- (a) roots like अयु (इयु) for which we have clear indications in forms like अयान, not explicable otherwise than on the theory of an initial aspirated medial in the root state, also roots which satisfy the test of the Indo Germanic phonetic equivalents,
- and (b) Roots like अयु, अङ् &c. which, as I say, alter the initial consonant into a corresponding aspirate simply in obedience to the law of moving the aspiration from the end to the beginning under certain circumstances, and had therefore no such aspirated first consonant in the root stage

19. It must be said to the thinking Kavi's credit that, at a later stage, he gave up the absurd symbol and resorted to a diacritical dot under the vowel to mark the aspiration अमे.

It will be seen from the above remarks that the हकार in a state of संकर is so interfused as to lead some people to regard it, not as an aspirate consonant but, as a mere aspiration pervading the adjacent vowel. Mr. Kēśavalul Dhruva holds such a view and calls the aspirate a प्राणध्वनि, (See his *Vāgyāpāra*, Appendix II, Pp. 23-24); and recommends the symbol of a mere dot below the aspirated syllable, thus: वेन, अमे, etc., instead of the manifest ह as व्हन, हमे &c.. However, we have only to look at instances like घेर, घट्ट, घो, etc., wherein the ह् is undoubtedly present in a संकीर्ण state with ए, and not as a mere प्राणध्वनि, and we shall be convinced of the flaw in the प्राणध्वनि theory. Consistency with that theory would demand writing गेर, गट्ट, गो instead of घेर, घट्ट, घो,—but no one would be prepared to go to that²⁰ length,—not even Mr. K. H. Dhruva himself.

As I perceive the phonetic conditions in this question, the aspiration falls under three distinct descriptions.—

- (1) Strong, गुरुप्रयत्न, as in हर्ष, वरुन, वटन etc.
- (2) Weak, लघुप्रयत्न, as in हमे, दमार, म्होर्द, व्हन, etc.
- and (3) Faint, in the form of a प्राणध्वनि, as when the लघुप्रयत्न ह् sound, situated in a distant, unaccented, part of a word is in a condition of getting worn out after passing through the प्राणध्वनि stage; as in सरजनहार-सरजनार-सरजनार.

20. Those who are opposed to the writing of the लघुप्रयत्न हकार use the specious argument that in words like व्हलि, व्हन, the sounds ought to result in फ, भ्, and not remain as व्ह, व्ह. It may be claimed in favour of the प्राणध्वनि theory, that it would satisfactorily dispose of this argument, for the aspiration being merely a faint fusion in the adjacent vowel (घो, व्हन), it cannot affect the consonants in the manner indicated for as to turn the प, ब् into फ, भ्. But the cases of words like घेर, घट्ट, घो, exclude the possibility of the प्राणध्वनि theory and thus the explanation of प् + ह् and ब् + ह् not resulting into फ, भ् must be sought for elsewhere. We find it in the fact that difference in स्थान and प्रयत्न prevent such merging into class aspirates, प् + ह्, having common स्थान and प्रयत्न in a very great degree, inevitably fuse into फ, where as प् + ह्, ब् + ह् do not do fuse.

The present day forms *હેનું, હેને, મ્હાનું* etc. are represented in old Gujarātī works by such forms as *હેનું, તેહનું, નાહાનું* etc. which, though apparently longer in syllabic quantity, are really of the same quantity as the former, a fact proved by metrical test. This shows the rationality of the finally evolved forms. A few extracts from an old work will illustrate my remark; I take them from Bhīma Kavi's *Harī-Līlā*, *-Shodasa Kālā* (year of copy, V. S. 1574; year of composition²¹ V. S. 1541).—

Kālā VIII —

- (1) પહનન ટાંકી ટાંકી નહીં । (St. 27)
- (2) એકવાર સની નેસાલ ।
તેમ્પાં સપઢ્યાં નાહાનાં વાલ । (St. 30)
- (3) કિહાં તાહારુ સ્વામી પ્રલ્હાદ ।
ગાદિ કરિનન તેહનન સાદ । (St. 54)
- (4) માહારુ સ્વામી જે મડ વહુ । (St. 54)
- (5) તાહારુ સ્વામી સચલ આપારિ । (St. 58)

The metre here is *chopāi*, and a reading of the lines in that metre will at once show that the words printed black read as if they were spelt *હેનન, મ્હાનાં, વર્ધાં, સ્હાર, હેનન, મ્હાર, સ્હાર*. This indicates distinctly the situation of the *હ* in the beginning of words; in other words, although the *હ* was represented as a separate in writing, it was sounded with the initial syllable. This system of writing can be seen in vogue over a long period before and after the time of *Harī-Līlā*.

21. A Ms. lent to me by Mr. Hiralāl T. Pārekhi, B. A. Asst. Secretary Gujarāt Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, has V. S. 1574 as the year in which it was copied. In the concluding part the year of composition is given as under —

સવત ૧૫ સુતી વીસ । × > > ઉત્તમ ઉત્તર જ્યન વિશેષ । કતુ વસન સકાંતિ મેષ ॥

The blank here is filled up by the reading in the *Bṛhat Kāvya-dohana*, IV; વર્ષ એક ઉપર ચ ટીસ ॥ (જ્યારીસ, as another Ms. of the same poet's *Prabodha-Prakāśa* written in V. S. 1575 has it). Vrajalāl Śāstri gives V. S. 1540 as the year of composition of *Harī-Līlā* (Vide his *Gujarātī Bhāṣako Itihāsa*, P. 65)

In one rare instance I find the ह conjoined with its related consonant just as I contend it should be written:

लई हेमनी कांकरी मात म्दोदी (*Dasama Slandha*, by Keśava Hṛidē-ram; composed in V. S. 1529, copy written in V. S. 1787.)

The metre here is *bhuyangi* and म्दोदी fits properly into the metrical scheme. In other places in the same work the word is written मोदोदं, the ह kept unannited.

There is a unique backward movement of ह which is like involution rather than evolution, a reverse process whereby ह is changed into a less es-
Backward move- ment of ह in गुफा derived from गुहा. *pirate.* I have come across only one instance of this: गुफा (G.)-गुहा (Skr.). This word is found, in addition to our present day Gujarāṭī, in old works also:-

(1) गव्हर गुफा शरीरुं वपण।

(Bhima Kavi's²² *Harī-Līlā*, VIII-61)

(2) गोमट गुप गुफा मांदि

(*Mūdharaṇala Dodhala Prabandha* V. S. 1584, by Gaṇa-pati; *Anga* VIII, St. 108).

This word, गुफा, may seem to be a Persian word; but there is hardly any reason to doubt its origin from Sanskrit, गुहा. The only peculiarity here is that the ह is changed to फ, whereas generally a फ in Sanskrit is changed to ह. (*Si-Hi*-VIII-i-236). There is no such word in Sanskrit as गुफा, nor is the root गुप् (गुम्प्) connected in sense with Sanskrit गुहा, which is from गुह् = to hide, गुहा being "a hiding place" and therefore "a cave." Could it be that गुप्²³ was an old Sanskrit root long lost even in Vedic times?

22. Bhima has this word (गुफा) also in his *Prabodha Pralāṣa* (V. S. 1546), *Pralāṣa* iii, sloka 6.

23. The root गुप्="protect," may possibly be allied to such a गुप्.

The only hitch, and apparently a difficult one, is that गुप् itself is regarded as a secondary root, derived from गोपाय् which is apparently regarded as a denominative root from गोप (= a cowherd)-गो (= a cow) +पा (= to protect). But, on the other hand, may it not be suggested that गोप (= a cowherd) was itself really from गुप् (= to protect) and

This is not unlikely and such cases of reflex process are not unknown. For, it may be safely asserted as a tenable theory, that *ह* was evolved as a separate letter out of the class aspirates, in early times no doubt, which predominated in Vedic times, and even during those days roots ending in *ह* were traceable to those ending in a class aspirate, but which were lost to the language even then. Compare *घृष्ट* Vedic *घृष्णाति*, for which the classical root is

subsequently artificially derived from *गो+षा गोषात्* being really an irregular formation? For of the five roots, *घृष्*, *घृष्ट्*, *षण्* and *पन्*, mentioned by Pāṇini in III-1-28, is taking on *भात्*, only *गोषात्* has the plausible analysis *गो+षा*, and *विच्छ्* is impossible to account for even with a noun basis as *घृष्ट* and *षण्* may be which either are not capable of the splitting up like *गो+षा*. I am aware that *घृष्* is a later Vedic root, though not quite post Vedic. It occurs but once in a late hymn of the VIIth Mandala and but twice in the Xth Mandala of Rigveda Samhitā (See *Vedic Grammar* by A. A. Mac Donell, P. 358, n. 13). But this fact need not interfere with the possible course of *घृष्* being at some stage evolved out of the very old possible root *उष्*. I speak with great diffidence and reservation, but I would ask—Is it not permissible to regard the theory that *गोषात्* is a denominative verb from *गोष* (derived from *गो+षा*) as a misconception?

The reasons are —

- (1) The difficulty of similarly accounting for the other roots in the same group, viz *घृष्ट्*, *षण्*, *पन्*, as already just above indicated. I know *षणि* is believed to designate (1) the Parnians and then (2) traders (of *वणिक्* as possibly evolved from *षणि*) (See *Vedic Index* Vol. I, 471-472) and *विच्छात्* may conceivably be traced to *वि+छाया* (=shade) —for a man who goes onward in the journey first leaves the shade. But these considerations do not come into direct conflict with my contention viz that they do not admit of the splitting up like *गो+षा*,
- (2) The word *गोषयि* furnishes an indirect analogy and illustration of the artificial splitting up which I discover in *गोष* (*गो+षा*) which really can be referred to *घृष्* (*घृष्+घञ्* termination). *गोषय* (RV. I, 19-1) is taken by Yāska and Śaṅkara to mean *drinking of Soma*, by Max Müller to mean

गृह्, गृह्णाति ²⁴ Evidence of this can be detected in certain verbal forms in classical Sanskrit which before certain letters change the final \tilde{r} of roots into class aspirates, thus pointing to

a draught of milk, (गो+पीय), while Roth (Nirukta, Notes P. 144) favors the sense "protection" (which would be from गृप् = *to protect*, without any splitting up into गो+पीय) Max-Müller does take notice of this sense (protection) also, but inclines in favour of the meaning, *a draught of milk* simply because पीय has clearly the sense of "drinking" in सोमपीय (RV I 61, 7). But it may be answered:

- (a) That पीय may be from पा, *to drink*, in सोमपीय, and yet with equal force गोपीय may be derived from गृप् by the application of the same termination, and that the error is due to external similarity only, and
- (1) Max Müller himself recognizes the sense "protection" for गोपीय in RV. X-77, 7.

24 Āptō in his Sanskrit English Dictionary does not give गृम् as a Vedic root but he gives गृम् = (Vedic) a house गृमे Ved "grasping", गृमीत adjective 1 seized, 2 impregnated. M Williams gives "गृम् (from गृह्) p f Ved holding, grasping, grasp, hold" also "गृमीत m f n = seized" It would seem that गृमीत (classical गृहीत) must really be a past participle of गृम्, and not a pure adjective गृम् must have meant "to take", as also "to bear in the womb" from which came गर्भे, although Āptō gives गृ+मन् Unādi, 3-162 But गृमीत would indicate here too the radical existence of the म् in the body of the root, and this गृ+मन् must have been a later attempt to explain the म in गर्भे, long after the root गृम् was lost even in Vedic times or soon after whereas the results of गृह् and गृम् remained in the nouns गृह and गर्भे, just as मिह् and मिष् have left मेहन and मेघ, though here again Āptō explains मेघ by मिह्+घन् and घुस्वम् The past participle of मिह् is मीढ which would point to an old root मिह्, and not मिष्, or it may be, as the word मेघ shows, that मिष् must be an oldest root, and मीढ may have been formed on the analogy of मीढ M Williams gives मेघ as derived from मिष्, and gives "मिष् = rt मिह्-only in निवेष्टमान -चा न (cf Megha) Ved emitting moisture, and quotes from Sīyana "न्यधि भवाद्गुह्यानि शुशुद्वानि सिचद्, sprinkling down rain water"

old, long obsolete, roots ending in such class aspirates, roots unknown to the oldest literature. Thus:—

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) दुह्+क—दुग्धं; | here दुष्+त. ²⁵ |
| (2) लिह्+क—लीदं; | here लिद्+त. |
| (3) मिह्+क—मीदं; | here मिद्+त. |
| (4) नह्+क—नदं; | here नध्+त. |
| (5) दिह्+क—दिग्धं; | here दिष्+त. |
| (6) दह्+क—दग्धं; | here दष्+त. |
| (7) रुह्+क—रुदं; | here रुद्+त. |
| (8) वह्+क—उदं; | here वद्+त. ²⁶ |

Nirukta, x-23 gives -गर्भो गुभेर्गुणात्पर्ये गिरयनर्भानिति । (गुणाति seems a mislection for ^(a)गुहणाति). Nirukta VII-26 has अगुहणत rendered into अगुहणत by Yāska.

The St. Petersburg Lexicon (Bohtlingk and Roth, -Sanskrit-Worterbuch) gives: गुभ् (=दग्ध्=दह्); also गुभित partic.-past pass.;—not an adjective.

(a) [I am unexpectedly supported in this conjecture of mine by Roth —

"Statt *gñātjarte* the scheint gelesen werden zu müssen *गुह्णात्पर्यान्*"; (Note to Nirukta, X, 23, in Roth's Edition Pp. 140-1 of Notes).

("Instead of गुणात्पर्ये it seems we are to read गुह्णात्पर्यान्." as translated kindly for me by Father Zimmermann of St. Xavier's College, Bombay).

Roth evidently goes a step further than I in reading अर्भान् for अर्थे and he seems right, for Yāska's remark further runs—
यसहि स्त्री गुणान् गुहति युगाध्याया गुहन्तेऽथ गर्भोभवति].

25. Cf. English *daughter*, M. E. *doghter*, *dohter*; A. S. *dohtor*, Zend, *dughdar*; Persian, *dulhtar*; which all indicate a *gh*, *lh*, which must have yielded the pure precipitate *h* subsequently. It need not be said that दुहितृ, *daughter*, is one who milks (दुह्-दीप्ति) the cow in the house-hold. She used to milk in the ancient family life.

26. Pāṇini has ह्रस्वः (VIII-ii-31) as a general rule and to modify that he gives दादर्थोर्ध्वः (VIII-ii-32), वा दृहमुहृहृणिहान् (VIII-ii-33) and नहो धः (VIII-ii-34).

Now, this व्यवस्था or arrangement may be all right for the

Similarly, a non-final ह् in some roots represents an original class aspirate in the older stage; thus, हन् has जघान in the reduplicated perfect and घातयति in the causal; this would indicate some such older root as घन्.

[Dr. Sir R. G. Bhândārkar barely indicates this process incidentally at P. 289 of his Lectures where he briefly states that the h in *traho*-tractum (Lat.) like the Sanskrit ह् stands for an original gh. Beames (Vol. I, P. 262) says:—

"This letter (i. e. ह्) in Sanskrit roots is often merely a softening of an aspirate (meaning, I believe, a class aspirate). ग्रह् is originally ग्रष्, ह् is भृ, हप्=भृष्, हृद्य probably from खर्द्, नह्=नष्, वह्=वष्, perhaps also वृह्, रुह्=रुष्, रूह्=रुष्.²⁷ Some of these older forms, as *grabh* and *bhrī*, are preserved in the Vedas, and with regard to the others the analogy of forms in the cognate languages shows that the aspirate has been dropped, while in many it appears in various tenses of the verb."

Thus it will be seen that the class aspirates in very remote times stood for the pure ह् of the later period, it being a subsequent evolution from the old world class aspirate.²⁸ And the

purposes of the *sūtra*-scheme, and was partly based on रुह्यद्ष्टे, i. e. on facts found in current language. But the source of these variations can fairly be sought in obsolete roots with corresponding class aspirate endings.

मुष्-मृह् etc.—Would these alternative forms indicate मुष् and मृह् &c. as old roots? It is not easy to decide, it is just possible that some of the alternative forms got currency by mere analogy. I am confirmed in this conjecture by Macdonell, § 13. last two sentences (P. 13). He says:—"The various origins of ह् led to a certain amount of confusion in the groups of forms from roots containing that sound. Thus beside *mugdha*, the phonetic past participle of *muh*, *to be confused*, appears *mūḍha* (AV.), *deceived*."

27. Some of these analogizations are dubious, e. g. वह्=वृष्, रुह्=रुष्, when we see them in the light of the past participial forms ऊह and रुह.

28. This theory may not be regarded as fanciful. Max Müller goes even so far as to believe that "there was a far far distant time

principle that history repeats itself can be seen at work during later linguistic evolution. For, this principle merely implies a general truth which means that, under a given set of circumstances the same or similar causes produce the same or similar

when the Aryan nations (if we may call them so) had no aspirates at all'

(*The Science of Language* Vol II, P 222)

An additional indication may be seen in the *g* in *tag* (Germ) allied to Skr दह् (दध्)

The theory about the class aspirates existing in the Parent Aryan without a separate eonant ॠ is well recognized in philological circles

It may be further suggested here that at a period when the class aspirate had not turned into the pure aspirate ॠ, the ॠ of ॠॠ in ॠॠ had changed into ॠ in some languages of the Western Section of the old Aryan stock for we find Ital *caua* (= cave, ॠॠ) from Lat *caua* (from *catus*=hollow, vide *cate* in the Etymological Dictionary of the English Language (Skeat) also *caua* and *catus*, *cavus*, *caua* in Smith's Latin English Dictionary this change of sense does not involve a great wrench) the English word *cave* itself presents this phonetic alliance The relation between *v* and *f* is well marked in English *give*, A S *gifu* Eng *live*, A S *lyfan*, Eng *live*, A S *sife* (Eng *sift*) Eng *drive*, A S *drifan* (Eng *drift*) Eng *thrive* M E *thrive*, *thrive*, (Eng *thrift*) similarly in transition from Latin into French and cognate languages and then English, *v* changes to *f* in L *brevis* It Sp Pt *breve* O F *brief*, *brief*, F *brief*, M L *bref*, *bref* While the relation between *l* and *g* (ॠ and ॠ) is still more prominent cf Skr चन्द्रयुग Gl Sandra-kuptos (Lottos), Skr ॠॠ Eng *gole* Goth *gul*, Ger *joch*, &c though it must be noted that *g* becomes *l* intervocally only, and that an initial *g* turned to *l* would be unusual But the ॠ of ॠॠ may well be regarded as uninitial from one point of view

My theory may receive further support in *kaof* (11asta)=*kop* (Pehlavi)=*luh* (Pers) all signifying 'a mountain and from 'a mountain to 'a cave is not a difficult or unnatural step by *lalshata* The 1vastare *k lof* will furnish a link with the obsolete ॠॠ

(I am indebted for this valuable information regarding the Avasta and Pehlavi words to the courtesy of my friend Mr Behramgur Temuras Anklesaria of Santa Cruz Bombay)

I do not forget that phonetic laws are conditioned by the limits of time and place But when our theory goes far far back into a period

effects. This truth operates in all branches of human or even cosmic evolution. Consequently, in the branch of phonetics, i. e. linguistic evolution, what happened to the class aspirates in their passage from pre-Vedic and Vedic times to Vedic and post-Vedic and classical Sanskrit, viz. the precipitation of ह out of them, happened again in their passage from Sanskrit to Prākṛit; hence we have (Skr.) वः (Pr.) वट्, (Skr.) लाभः (Pr. and Apabhṛ.) लाहो-लाहट्, (Skr.) बभ्रिष्क (Apa.) बहिरिउ, (Skr.) मायः (Pr.) माहो, (Skr.) नाथः (Pr.) नाहो, (Skr.) कथयति (Pr.) कहइ, (Skr.) पित्रकः (Ap.) पिहइउ, (G.) प्हेड्डु (*Vide St. It.* VIII-i-187 and 201); also फ to ह (*St. It.* VIII-i-236) as in कफोणिः (Skr.), कहोणी (Pr.), कहोणी-फहोणी (G.); तलस्पयः (Skr.), तलफंस (Apa.)-तलहंस-तलहंस (G.) in the verb तलहंसु (to stroke, especially as applied to the stroking of the soles of the feet) from the noun, तलहंस, which as a noun is, of course, obsolete or unknown.

[This precipitation of the ह is further seen in the case of म् during the stage between Apabhṛamsa and Gujarati मध्ये (Skr.), मज्जे (Pr.), -(मासि M.)-माहिं (Guj)].

This examination of the general principle and its working through ages of linguistic evolution would seem to justify us in the theory of गुफ्त being an ancient word from which गुह (Skr.) was evolved. The only difficulty that comes in the way is that गुह from गुह would indicate गुह् as an old form of गुह whereas here we take गुप् as the old form of गुह. But a solution of this can be found in the possibility of there being two old forms गुप्, as well as गुह, which is not inherently improbable, or it may be that गुह was the result of analogy with रुह and the like. But it is not where these limits of time and place are uncertain factors, we are not unjustified in taking the phonetic principles on purely scientific grounds.

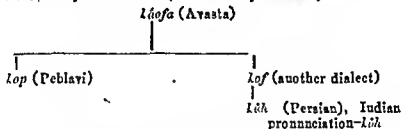
It may be pointed out with regard to the relation between ग and क noted just above, that गैः (Skr.) has a k in its counterparts in some languages of the Western Section, viz. cow (Eng.), ko, ku (MLG.), ko (LG). This would show that an initial ग also has क for its counterpart, and we need not resort to the roundabout method of taking the ग of चङ्गुम as constructively uninitial.

source, by a process which I may be permitted to name as *phonetic atavism*.

गुफ़ makes its reappearance thus in early Gujarāṭī literature and modern Gujarāṭī.

(7), (8), (9).—These furnish a collateral support of great value; the Avastāic *ḷāof*, (linked to the obsolete गुफ़) supplying, like गुफ़, one form with a *ḷ*, *ḷop*, in Pehlavi, and another with a *ḷ*, *ḷāh*, in Persian.

It may be objected that Pehlavi has *lof* and not *lop*, the symbols for *p* and *f* being identical. But I am assured by Mr. B. T. Anklesaria that this point about the class aspirates is very much debated and debatable, and that he, for one, holds that *p* and not *f* is the sound. Again, it may be objected against *p*, that it can not yield the *h* in the Persian *lāh*, whereas *f* (in *lof*) would yield *lop*. But, as Mr. Anklesaria again tells me, Pehlavi was not the only language intermediate between Avastā and Persian; there were several other dialects along with Pehlavi which occupied such intermediate position, and it is quite possible that while Pehlavi had the *p* in *lop*, the *h* in Persian *lāh* came through another intermediate dialect which retained the *f* in *lof*. Thus the genealogical tree given above may be amended (to be strictly accurate) as under:—



The fact that *guz* (Avastā) is the relative of गुह (Skr.),—*guzra* (Avastā)=गुह (Skr.)—need not be a bar against the position taken up by me on the basis of *ḷāof*; for such collateral evolutions are not unnatural or impossible.

In the above stated points, I advance the theory suggested under (3) and (6) only tentatively and with great reservation. Even if that part be excluded, there is enough material in the remaining data for supporting my main contention.

(स) *Interpolation* (प्रक्षेप) of हकार.

An adventitious हकार is added in some words.

In some words this हकार remains, after interpolation, in the

(ख) *Interpolation* form of a संमृष्टि and in others as a संकर.
of हकार. Examples:—

| <i>Slr.</i> | <i>Prāk. or Apabh.</i> | <i>Guj.</i> | |
|-------------|------------------------|-------------|------|
| प्राप्तं | पत्तं | प्होत्तं | |
| मया | मइ | म्हें | } 20 |
| त्वया | तइ | त्हें | |
| (यद्वारे) | जिवाइ | ज्य्हारे | } 30 |
| (तद्वारे) | तिवाइ | त्य्हारे | |
| (किंवारे) | किवाइ | क्य्हारे | |
| नदयति | 31 नस्तइ | न्हासे | |
| लघः | लघु | ल्ह | |
| चिता | चिआ | चई | |

[Note:—The comparative antiquity of this प्रक्षेप will be visible from the fact that प्हुचइ (प्हचि) is found in a work dated V.S. 1608—*Sāra-Rāsa* (*Natala-Gānthāratī*, Part II, P. 46):—जे सुगतां प्हुचइ मन रली!; and earlier still in *Kānbādādē-Prabandha* (V. S. 1512)—साठि वरस वावरतां प्हुचइ कणतणा योगर (II-99). For an account of the added उ yielding प्हुच्-पहुस् see *supra*, p. 244 in Lect. IV Section I]²²

29. See *St. H.* VIII-iv-377 and 370.

30. अत्तवाइ-अत्तारे (G) is an exception. The reason is to be found in accent. अत्तवाइ has the accent on the first syllable (अ) and hence there is no need for the प्रक्षेप in अत्त.

The process in the three words is as under.—

जिआइ, जिहाइ, ज्यहाइ, (द्वितीया अकार in ज्य dropped) ज्य्हारडं, ज्य्हारे.

Similarly in the case of त्य्हारे and क्य्हारे.

31. शकादीनां द्वित्वम् (*St. H.* VIII-iv-230); hence the double स् for श्. Thus Htmachandra, the real reason appears to be that नस्तइ is formed from नदयति, where the य is dropped (*St. H.* VIII-iv-78) and the remaining स is doubled (*St. H.* VIII-iv-89).

32. These quotations have been given earlier by me in a different connection. *Idem supra*, Lecture IV, Section I, P. 240

संकरः—

(With a vowel)

| Skr. | Pr. or Apa. | Gnj. |
|----------|-------------|---------------|
| अर्शः | अरिस | दरस (= piles) |
| सरजनकारः | सरजनभारु | सरजनहार |

This form °हार was in frequent use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of Vikrama era, and even in recent literature it was in vogue in poetry:—

सुरज तारा सरजनहार (Dalpatrâm)

मंगलपुर मंगलउर मांगलद्वर

(कित्य दीगद मांगलद्वर । *Kânhacladê-Prabandha*, I, 22)

It is now-मांगरोड (through मांगल by व्यत्यय)

ओष्ठ. ओट्ट होठ

(*Ditya*) अयाडि (= दुर्दिन, therefore, incessant rain) हँटी

अयापि अजवि-अजइ दजी

सर्गः सव्यो-सव्यु-सग-सउ सहु

(also, alternatively, सौ)

[*Si. II. VIII-iv* 366 gives सहु as an *adessa* of सर्व alternatively. If that is recognized, सहु comes direct, and सौ by dropping the ह and then सउ changing to सौ.]

(With consonants)

(क)

कपोतः कपोतो खरतर³³

(optionally कवतर)

³³ कवतर is a Persian word also. कवतरदुम=दुम-ह-कवतर a pen shaped like the tail of a dove (A Persian into Persian Dictionary, entitled *Ghuds-ul laughdt*). Also कवउ (Persian)=Blue, आसमाने कवत=blue sky.

Could कवतर in Persian have been formed from कवत (blue)² or it may be that कवत was taken into Persian from Sanskrit कपोत, and then कवतर. In Sanskrit, कपोत means 'a pigeon,' a dove,' and also 'the grey colour of a pigeon' (*Apte's Dictionary*). It is possible that the adjective 'blue' in Persian was so taken from Sanskrit.

The त remains unchanged, and so far the word is a सशब्द तद्वत्. The र may be an evolution of त in कपोतकः-कपोतदु-कपुतदु-कपुतदु-कपुतक-कवतर.

| | | |
|---------|---|---------------------------------|
| तृणकः | 34 तरिण(कलं) तणखलं or तरखलं (by altern- | |
| | तरण(कलं) | ately dropping र or ण) |
| कोटरं | कोटरं | Guj. कोतर=a cavity; from it the |
| | (Paiśācī कोतर) | verb कोतरवुं and also कोतरवुं. |
| कोनरुः | कोणउ | खणो |
| कोडकः | कोडउ | खालो 35 |
| (ग) | | |
| सकलकं | सगलउं | 36 सपलुं |
| (घ) | (Dāśya) पडंचा | पणउ |
| (ज) | | |
| ज्वाला | जाळा | झाळ (a flame) |
| पुष्पति | जुम्भर | झमे |
| सूचितकं | सूचिभउं (सूनिपुं) | सूरुपुं 37 |
| वीरपति | वीनेइ | वीमे |

34. *Si. Hē*, VIII-i-144 notes the change of क to अरि only in the case of रस (Skr.)—ररिअ (Pr.). The principle is here extended by way of अनुप्रास in Gujarātī.

35. Dr. Bhāndārkar derives the word as above. (His Lectures, P. 173). The विवृत sound of ख remains unexplained. It may be an exception.

36. This is at least as old as V. S. 1541, for Dhima Kavi's *Harī-Līlā* has—

तेम्ना सपलुं नारना बाल । (*Kālā* VIII, St. 30).

Also,—

विणसाटी सपलुदी नेसाळ (*Ibid.*, St. 47).

At any rate V. S. 1574, the year of the copy, witnesses this घ in सपलुं, सपनी.

37. This may have been the result of the operation of the principle of *Distinction*; a desire to distinguish the word from सूनुं (= to get swollen). सूनुं (= to occur, to strike one's mind) may have been formed with an aspirated न (स).

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| | (<i>dicya</i>) जयस्या (यवाद्भुरा) | सरोरा ³⁸ |
| | (<i>dicya</i>) जाडी | शाडी ³⁹ |
| (ङ) | | |
| (आरोहति=) | चढ् ⁴⁰ | चदे |
| (त) | | |
| कान्तः | कन्तु | कंध |
| सीमन्तवः | सीमन्तव (सीभन्तव) | संधो, संधी |
| भक्तकं | भक्तव | भाधुं ⁴¹ |

38. सरोरा is the name specially given to the sproutlings of *yava*, grown in small baskets placed before the goddess in the days of *Nara rātri* holidays.

39. The meaning given in the *Dīkṣa-nāma-mālā* for जाडी is गुदम (III-45). But III-57 has also शाड for रतागहनम्. This leaves the matter doubtful. *Dīkṣa-nāma-mālā* I-61 has आभल्ली शाडभेभिमि, and the gloss on it has आभल्ली शाटमेर. Could शाट be a Sanskrit word? It looks suspiciously *dicya*, like घोटक, लकुट, &c. But शाड must bear the meaning, "a tree".

40. Vrajatīl Śīstī, in his *Utsarga Mālā* P. 77, gives चट्ति as a Sanskrit root in the sense of "to mount to ascend", giving by way of illustration the sentence अभयरो घोटे चटति (भसवार घोटे चढेछे). This is without any authority. Pāṇini gives चट् (10th conjugation) भेदने ("to break") and चटे as a variant of कटे-‘चटेइत्येके’-वर्षावर्णयोः (= to rain to cover). M. Williams and Āptā follow the above. In his *Dhātusangraha*, Vrajatīl Śīstī adopts the same meanings, but quietly shoves in चट्ठु as an additional meaning on his own account. Of course, it is wrong. Hemschandra has clearly given चट् as an alternative *dicya* of आरु (Si II. \ III iv-205). If चट् existed in Sanskrit in that sense, Hemschandra would not have given चट् as such an *addeśa*.

41. Some derive this from पथियक, but this requires a change of प to भ which is rather a stretch (प to भ and then aspiration-is not quite impossible, however), though the sense is nearer in पथियक. But मधुं is also a form in O. and here the conjunct can only come from भक्तक and not from पथियकम्. Besides, पथियक would be पथियक in Prakrit (Aphbraṃṣi).

| | | |
|--------|--------------------|------|
| वृत्तक | निदउ ⁴² | वीधु |
| पीतक | पीरउ ⁴³ | पीधु |
| इत्तक | | दीधु |
| (प) | | |
| पाशक | पासउ | पासो |
| (ब) | (d dya) डार, डारउ | डामु |
| | (व to य) डारउ | |
| | (d dya) खरओ-खरउ | खमो |
| | खरइ | भूके |

[Sanskrit *Matu jatra* has वृक् भपणे *Si He VIII iv 98* has गजैवृक् and VIII iv-185 has भपेभृक्. If this last is accepted this instance (वृक्ड-भूक) may be excluded or rather it may be regarded as one in which the प्रक्षेप of हकार began in the Prākṛit language.

The sense is changed because भृ=to bark whereas वृ भूक=to bray. The principle laid down in पातयोऽर्थांतरस्यि, *Si He VIII iv 208* is carried into Gujarātī.]

[The principle of this apparently unaccountable प्रक्षेप of हकार is found in rare cases in Prākṛit also नापित (Skr) प्हाविओ (Pr) (*Si H VIII : 290*), पनस (Skr), पणसो (Pr) &c &c (*Si H VIII : 292*)]⁴⁴

42 व is changed to द in Saurasṭī : (*Si He VIII iv 259*) वयु could be from करइ (Pr) Gujarātī root वर and Gujarātī p p वयु. Prākṛit may also have करिअ.

43 डार-डारकर (left hand) (*Dārī : dāra : III, IV-6*) then ल्य दक्षणा, any left limb, left side.

44 Dr B. Indārkar gives an interesting explanation of the aspiration of unaspirates in regard to P. It may stand good for all other languages, and it will explain the aspiration in the case of some of the above instances. He says —

‘An unaspirate is changed to an aspirate when it is followed in the same word by a sibilant x x x x. The heavy *śradda* that forms a constituent of the sibilant sound has made such a strong impression on the ear of the hearer that he immediately prepares himself to let it out, and thus uses it even in pronouncing the letters which precede the sibilant and do not require it. (His Lectures, Pp 40-41)

(ग) THE स्वेप, LOSS, OF इकार.

- (ग) *Loss of इकार.* The *utsarga* may be stated thus — 1
The इ, existing in Prākṛit, Dīśya, or intermediate forms in some words, is dropped, whether the इकार be a member of a conjunct or be संकीर्ण with a vowel or form the aspirating factor in a class aspirate, in the last case the dropping of the इ leaves the corresponding unaspirate.

Examples.—

(संयुक्त इ)

| Skr. | Prāk. or Ap. or Dīśya | Guj. |
|----------|------------------------|--|
| चिहं | चेण्हं ¹⁵ | चन |
| तीक्ष्णक | तिण्हं | तीव |
| विहलक | विहलं (विहलडं) | वीहं (also वीहं in Surat District) ¹⁶ |
| वहभः | वल्हट्ट (वल्हड, वल्हव) | वालभ ¹⁷ |

He further accounts for this habit by the fact that pronunciation is facilitated by transferring one of the elements of a sound, to another i. e. by assimilating them to each other as much as possible. To this I may suggest an additional explanation viz the sound heard last sticks better in the mind and therefore it is used first in utterance to some extent as in this aspiration, or folly as in the case of व्यत्यय (metathesis), (उ.) विलाडो for (Skr.) विहलकः etc.. This tendency is sometimes so potent that some children pronounce ऊट as टूट.

45 Under St. II, VIII-1-85, the short इ of the initial syllable followed by a conjunct, turns into ए (optionally).

46 This व्ह in vogue in Surat excludes the correctness of the alternative derivation from विकल (Skr.), विमल (Pr)

47 Simala Bhat's *Padmāvatī* has व्हेल वज्रो वाहलमा. The इ has lingered still upto Simala's time, but evidently as a vanishing star. The व here is changed to म under an *utsarga* to be dealt with later on. There is an alternative phonetic course — वल्हमः — वालभ — वाहम. वालभ is found in *Vasanta vilasa*, St 50. The final म would be partly the result of the *anucara* in ल.

(स्वरसंकीर्ण हकार).

| | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| श्रुधिका | अदिआ | जई |
| नाथककः | माहुल्लव (नाहुल्लव) | नामलो |
| लोहल्लव | लोहल्लव | लोहल्लव |
| पटहः | पडहु | पडो ⁴⁸ |
| सूत्रधार. | सुत्तहारु | सुत्तार ⁴⁹ |
| सरजनकारः | सरजनहारु ⁵⁰ | सरजनार |
| एकादश | एगारह | अगियार |
| द्वादश | वारह | वार |
| त्रयोदश | तेरह | तेर |
| चतुर्दश | चउरह | चौद |
| पञ्चदश | पञ्जरह | पंदर |
| षोडश | सोढह | सोळ |
| सप्तदश | सत्तरह | सत्तर |
| अष्टादश | अट्टारह | अटार, हराट |
| सह | सहुं ⁵¹ | ⁵² सुं (= with) |
| माहासाष्टकः | मरहट्टव-मरअट्टव | मराओ } alternatively मरेओ } |
| (हकार in a class aspirate) | | |
| शृङ्खला | संखला | संखळ |

48. नगरमा पडो वगडो= (announcement was made by) beat of drum¹ in the town

49. Some people even now use the word सुयार.

50. Hémachandra gives दोरणहारौ=दोघी (a woman who milks) in his Desf-nāma m'11 I, 108 and gloss thereon. This would show the existence of this form हार for कार as far back as Hémachandra and earlier

51. St.Hc.VIII-12 419 gives सह as an *adeta* of सई in Apabhramśa Dr Tassitori (Notes, § 70 (5)) derives this सह from साकम् (Skr.) relying on Pischel § 206. Pischel in § 206 does give साक as the source-word, but cites Hémachandra iv-419 which in fact gives सह as the original.

52. Dr. Bhāndārkar derives सुं (=with) from सम (His Lecture², P. 251).

| | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| फलाहारः | फलाहारु-फलार | फराल |
| सिध्यते | सिज्झर | शीजे (= is cooked) |
| (Dēśya) | वोग्गओ | वोजो ⁵³ |
| मम | मज्ज | मज |
| (अग्रमध्ये) | अगमज्झि-अगमज- | आगमच |
| याण्डति | वाण्डइ | वाचे ⁵⁴ |
| आश्चर्यम् | अच्छरिजं ⁵⁵ | अचरज |
| | (Dēśya) कच्छरो (कच्छर) | कचरो |
| गुच्छः | गुच्छं ⁵⁶ | गुंच |
| सांवत्सरिकं (श्राद्धम्) | संवच्छरिअं | समचरी (= An annual Śraddha ceremony). |
| | (Dēśya) गुत्तिअं (= गवेपितं) | गोत्तुं ⁵⁷ |
| कटाक्षः | कडक्को (कडको) | करदागी ⁵⁸ कवदागी |
| दक्षा | दक्का | दाकलुं ⁵⁹ |

53. Marāṭhi preserves the द-ओल.

54. सारुं वांचुं=to wish well, this is a well-known idiom.

55. This is one of several alternative forms of आश्चर्यम्.

56. गुच्छ is given in the वक्रदिग्ग in *Si. Hē. VIII-i-26*. गृंचावुं, (root with a passive sense), is made out of this noun, गृंच; गृंचवुं is then formed as a causal from it. (This would fall under *Utaṛga* V-ग in the last lecture, IV-section I.)

57. गुप्त-गुप्तं='concealed'; and then साक्षरिक् sense "looked for" (because a thing that is concealed is looked for). This is a possible, but unconvincing derivation, especially, when we have the *dēśya* word at hand. *Dēśi-ndma-māḍā*, II-102.

58. The र is interpolated under the principle governing *Si. Hē. VIII-iv-399*, अमूलेऽपि वाचि.

59. Some pronounce the word as दाखुं. In that case the instance will fall under the previous portion of the *utaṛga*, viz: दकार shifted endward.

| | | |
|----------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| पाठकः | पाठ | पाठो ⁶⁰ |
| औषधं | औसद | औसद |
| वितस्तिः | विदत्थी | व्दत्थ |
| | (<i>Deśya</i>) जेसत्थि | जेस्ती |
| | (=वणिरसचिवः) | |
| दृष्ट | दिष्ट | दीष्ट ⁶¹ |

These instances are in such a large number that Mr. Beames' statement (Vol. I, 262) about *ह* being rarely elided must be rejected as based on incomplete observation or information.

The dropping of the *ह* may appear capricious, but on a careful examination the cause of the *लोप* will be found either in difficulty of pronunciation or unimportance of the dropped *ह*, or some similar feature.

[This process of *लोप* of *ह* has a small beginning in Prākṛit. *St. Hs.* VIII-ii-34, while prescribing the change of *ष्ट* to *ठ* generally, makes an exception in the case of *उष्ट*, *इष्ट* and *संष्ट* where the evolute is *ष्ठ* (*tta*). This is only a practical way of noting the real phonetic change, viz. the loss of *ह* after the *ष्ट* is changed to *ठ*; for the *प्* must aspirate the *ठ* in the first instance.]

We shall now take up such *Utsargas* as are jointly shared by Gujarātī with some other sister languages, without variation in their essential nature, viz

CLASS (C)

Class C-*Utsarga*
I. The soft *anuvāra*

THE SOFT (OR कोमल) अनुस्वार.

Utsarga I

This *anuvāra* was unknown in Sanskrit; even the nasalized *ए* as in *तौल्लोकान्* was attached to a strong nasal sound. Prākṛit

60 पाठो is an arithmetical table, *भाकनो* पाठो.

61 दीष्ट is used in compounds like *माथादीष्ट*, *घरदीष्ट*, and the like where *दीष्ट* gives the sense of *per*, *per head*, *per house*, and the like. *दीष्ट* is used in Kīthīvīla and some other parts of Gujarātī.

also did not possess the soft *anusvara*. Only with the rise of *Apabhramśa* commenced this soft *anusvara*, inside a word as well as at the end, as in जिर्वे, तिर्वे, कर्वे, भर्वे etc., where the “अनुनासिक वकार” is really a व preceded by, or closely mixed up with a softly nasalized vowel also उ, ह्र, दि, इ at the end of words,⁶² e.g. तुच्छउ शिञ्जउ, तरुह्र, तदि जिदि, तेणह्र, (कइतिउ (=इत्त)), this internally), नादि (=न हि Skt), elao मइ, तइ वयणाइ (plur.) “ददि” etc etc

Gujarati has taken this soft *anusvara* from the *Apabhramśa*

(a) Internal in words,

Soft *anusvara*
may be internal or final

This latter is taken particularly from the *Apabhramśa*.

(a) Internal

(क)-(A short vowel preceding the *anusvara*) The strong *anusvara* in the Prolit and other originals is weakened in Gujarati and the preceding vowel lengthened—

Original strong
anusvara weak-
ened a preceding
vowel lengthened

| Skt | Pr or Ap | Guj |
|--------------------|-------------|--------|
| वक्र ⁶³ | वक्रउ | वाह्र |
| रक्व | रक्कुउ | राक्को |
| रक् | रक्कु | राक् |
| शृङ्खला | सखला | साक्ख |
| दन्त | दत्त | दात |
| दन्तक | दन्तउ | दातो |
| सन्ध्या | सञ्झा-सञ्जा | साझ |

62 *Si Hc* VIII-iv 397

63 *Si Hc* VIII iv-411

64 *S Hc* VIII-ii-25 gloss this prevails in Pr kpit also But it is *Apabhramśa* which reveals in the soft *anusvara* generally

65 वक्र is derived from वङ्क्=to go crooked the nasal in वक् must be a resurrection an unconscious resurrection, of that म वङ्क् which remained dormant in वेद

| | | |
|----------|---------------------------------|--|
| घण्ट्या | वंज्झा-वंझा | वास(णी) |
| एण्डा | रंदा | राड |
| जह्वा | जंघा | जांघ ⁶⁶ |
| आघक. | अघड | आंघो |
| ताम्रकं | तथडं | तांड़ुं |
| संचरति | संचरइ | साचरे |
| संस्मरति | संस्मरइ (Pr) 67 संभरइ (Ap) } | सामरे |
| बिन्दु | बिंद | मींदु ⁶⁸ (through a possible बिन्दुक) |
| | (<i>Dśya</i>) भंढइ | भाटे |
| | („) निदिणी ⁶⁹ | नीदणी |
| | (=कृत्यणोद्धारण) | (and therefrom नीरखुं) |
| पृथक् | पटुको ⁷⁰ | पूंख |

Receptions —

| | | |
|----------|--------|-------|
| यान्त | वंतु | वंध |
| कुम्भलं | कुंपल | कुंपळ |
| कुम्भवार | कुभारु | कुभार |
| कुण्डलकं | कुंडळ | कुंडळ |

66 जाघ = the thigh. In Sanskrit जघा signifies the part of the leg between the knee and the ankle, i. e. the shank, the shin. The sense is evidently transferred in Gujarātī. I find M. Williams says जघा means the upper part of the leg also in older languages. I should like to see some quotation or authority to support this.

67 *See* He VIII-iv-412 prescribes *इओमोवा for Apabhramśa. We get संभरइ under this principle. The म् and ह् unite into म् here, through the व sound inherent in म्. (See, *infra*, the *nisarga* about nasals.)

68 I am not sure about this derivation. I give it as a mere conjecture.

69. *See* *Dśa-nāma-mālā*, IV 35.

70 Hemachandra does not give this in his *वज्रादिगण* (*See* III VIII-1-26) but he uses the word पटुक incidentally as a Prākṛit word in his *Dśa-nāma-mālā* VI, 44, पटुकलो पटुकमि.

No. 1 is an exception in that it preserves the strong *anusiāra* unchanged; Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are exceptions in that they weaken the *anusiāra* without lengthening the preceding vowel.

(ग) A long vowel preceding the *anusiāra*:—

Long vowel in original preceding the weakened *anusiāra*.
 एरान्तरेण वाङ्गति वाङ्गि वाचि
 (Here the *anusiāra* is weakened in Gujarāṭi. Compare Marāṭhi नांगर from Skr. लाङ्गल where नां in नागर has the *anusiāra* weakened.)

Exception.—

बान्धवः

भाण्डु

(Here the nasal remains strong).

[Note: उपरान्त is a curious word with a strong nasal, (there is no such Sanskrit word), for in *taḍbhāra* words generally a long vowel followed by a nasal always weakens the nasal.

In consequence of the false Sanskrit appearance of this word owing to the strong nasal, there are some persons who wrongly compound it with तद् and say तद् उपरान्त instead of ते उपरान्त].

(ग) The above instances belong to a group which takes the strong nasal in Prākṛit but weakens it in Gujarāṭi. There is another group of words which add a soft *anusiāra* in Gujarāṭi, there being none in the original even up to the Prākṛit⁷¹ stage, the *anusiāra* precedes a conjunct which is simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened. Such words are.—

| Skr. | Prāk. or Ap. or Diśya. | Guj. |
|---------|------------------------|--------|
| लिङ्गं | लिङ्गं | लीङ्गं |
| महापङ्क | महपङ्क | माँपु |
| स्वपङ्क | सुपङ्क | साँपु |

71. This *anārga*, so far, would be an अनुर्ण of वक्रवर्ण (VIII-i-26) of Hāmacandra.

| | | |
|----------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| मकुणः | मकुण | मांकण ⁷² |
| मकंडकः | मकडड | मांकडो ⁷³ |
| खड्गकः | खड्ड | खांडुं (gender changed) |
| अक्षि | अक्खी | आंख्य |
| उच्चकं. | उच्चडं | उंचुं |
| मक्षिका | मक्खिआ | मांघी |
| | (Désya) दकोइ | दांरे |
| | („) खड्ड | खांडे ⁷⁴ |
| उष्ट्र. | उष्टु | उंष्ट्र |
| पिच्छकं | पिच्छडं | पीछुं |
| रुक्म. | रिच्छु | रीछ |
| निद्रा | निद्रा | नीदर |
| पृष्ठकं | पुष्टुं | पूंष्टं |
| पृष्ठिका | पुष्टिआ | पूंठय ⁷⁵ |
| इष्टिका | इष्टिआ | ईटय |
| अक्षः | अच्छु | आंम (=the axis of a wheel) |
| गुणकं | गुण्डवं | गूंछुं (=a pocket) |
| अशु | अस्सु ⁷⁶ | आसु |

72 *Dēśi-nāma-mālā* gives मकुण (as a Prākṛit word of which डैकुण and डैकुण are Dēśya equivalents) IV-14. At I-96, however, it has मकुण similarly (i.e. as a Prākṛit word). This word must therefore be regarded as doubtful.

73 फकड and फांकडो are both Gujarātī words (meaning "a gallant, a dandy") but related to each other in point of *anusvara* in the above manner. The derivation is unknown to me.

74 This can be traced to खण्डयति (SI r) easily. But Hēmachandra (VIII—iv—26) gives खड्ड as a specific *śāṅkha* of ड्ड. Hence I have included it here.

75 E. g. in हेनो पूठय लींथी = (He) dogged his footsteps.

76 Hēmachandra gives अस्सु in वक्रादिगण. But Śākuntala has सुमानि अस्सु विभ लदाओ. Thus I have taken अस्सु above in order to mark the earlier stage of the word.

| Skr. | Prāk. or Ap. or Dīśya. | Guj. |
|-----------|------------------------------|---------|
| मध्ये | मज्झि (M. माझि) | मांझि |
| अरघट्टः | अरहट्टु—(रहंठ) ⁷⁷ | रहंठ |
| भित्तिः | भित्ती | भौर्य |
| वितस्तिः | विहत्थी | व्हैत्य |
| छिक्का | छिक्का | छीक |
| पृत्करोति | पुक्कइ | पुंके |
| | छइइ | छांढे |
| | मुक्कइ | मुंके |

[Note:—पट्टं from पट्टुकाः (Skr.), पट्टभा (Pr.) is an instance under this head partially, because the weak nasal is added without lengthening the preceding vowel.]

Dīśya मकोदो (-इउ), G. मंकोदो, is another partial instance, as the vowel preceding the *anusvara* is not lengthened.

Words having a long vowel already when the soft nasalization is introduced:—

(घ) The following words have a long vowel already when the weak nasalization is introduced:—

(a)

| Skr. | Prāk. or Ap. | Guj. |
|-----------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| पाययः | पायय | पांसो ⁷⁸ |
| निक्षिपति | निक्षिपयइ | नांखे |
| वेष्टते | (वेष्टइ-वेष्टइ) ⁷⁹ | वींटे |

77 जाणे रहंठ तगी घटमाल ।

(Bhima Kavi's Hari-Lila VIII, 42).

The metrical value shows the *anusvara* in ई to be a soft one here.

78 स्पृश becomes पृश as well as पाश in Prākṛit (S. IIc VIII-iv-182), but the sense is different in पांसो. (स्पृश=touch, while पांसो= a snare, which is the sense in पाश). Hence this derivation.

79 Under S. IIc VIII-iv-221 वेष्ट should be वेद in Prākṛit. But the actual existence of वींटे in Gujarātī at the end of the phonetic chain and वेष्ट in Sanskrit at the other end justifies us in discarding the *śūtra* so far as Gujarātī is concerned, and applying the general rule in S. IIc. VIII-u-34, viz. the change of ई to इ.

| Skr. | Pr. or Apa. | Guj. |
|-------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| छाया | छाआ | छाय (छापहो) ⁸⁰ |
| प्रतिच्छाया | पटिच्छआ | पटछायो (पटछायो also) ⁸⁰ |
| हासः | हाछ | हासी |
| बापकः | बापठ | बांधो |

(b) There is another group of words which take a soft *anusvāra* at the end.—

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. | Guj. |
|-------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| मुखक | मुखडे | म्हों (also म्हो) |
| मा | मा | मां (particle meaning "don't") |
| शतं | शयं | सैं |
| वारणा | वारणा | वारणां |
| यमुना | direct | जमनां |
| मधुरा | direct | मधुरां |
| अधुना | अट्टणा | हमणां |

[Notes:—

- (1) This process is sometimes applied to words of Persian origin also:—

दुनिया (Pers.) दुनियां (G.)

- (2) The weak *anusvāra* in म्हों and सैं is evidently the remnant of the Sanskrit termination म्. In the remaining words—except मधुरां (where the *anusvāra* is not easily accountable)—the soft *anusvāra* is the result of an influence of the final nasal letter.

The above list is in addition to the words with a final *anusvāra* already given at the outset.

80 छायो is arrived at by a change in gender and the addition of the ३ termination, and पटछायो by a mere change in the gender. Gender changes are well-known and numerous in the transition from Sanskrit to Prākṛit and Gujarātī.

UTSARGA II

Class C Utsarga II Loss of *anu svāra* preceding vowel sometimes lengthened, or if remaining short the following consonant is occasionally doubled.

In certain words an original *anusvāra* having possibly passed through a softening process is altogether lost by a process of wearing out, and the preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened, sometimes it remains short, and in that case the following consonant is occasionally doubled to transit

Examples —

| | Skr. | Pr or Ap or Dēśya | Guj |
|-----|---------|---|-------------------------------|
| (1) | रिलति | रिलद् | रीले (=crawl on all fours) |
| (2) | मग्ना | मंग्ना | मग्ना |
| (3) | विम्व | विंव | वीव |
| (4) | मद्व(क) | मद्वन्त ⁸¹ (मद्वन्त मद्वन्त) | मद्व |
| (5) | वट्म | (direct-old Guj याट्म) ⁸² | वाट्म |
| (6) | | (Dēśya) पट्चा ⁸³ | पणट |
| (7) | | Dēśya रत्तण ⁸⁴ | दातण |
| (8) | शङ्खे | शङ्खे | शङ्खे (=as if) ⁸⁵ |

81 *Si. Ht. VIII-11-174* has मद्वन्त in the list गोमदि.

82 भाविया तिरां वारंम। (*Vasanta Vāraṃm*, 50 V S 1508) For an alternative evolution of this word see *supra* page 313 n 47

83 See *Dēśya mālā VI*, 14 There are some who try to coin पट्चा as a Sanskrit original of पट्चा, but there is no authority for such a word

84 *Dēśya mālā VI* does not give रत्तण as a Dēśya word But in II, 12 and I, 32 the word is used (apparently as a Prākṛit word) in explaining other Dēśya words However रत्तण has the clear appearance of a Dēśya word, even if रत्तण be the Sanskrit equivalent, unless this may be regarded as a case of what Bloomfield calls *haplog*

85 शङ्खे (=I guess) is used in Sanskrit to mark an *उत्प्रेक्षा* शङ्खे is thence turned in Gujarātī, into an indeclinable, meaning "as if" —

शङ्खे गिरि करीने भंग । खन के मध्य शङ्खे गग ॥

Prēmānāṁ Lālikhyāna, I, 8

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------|
| (9) संतापयति | संतापेइ | संतापे |
| (10) निस्वादयति | फंसापेइ ⁸⁶ | फंसापे |

[NOTES.—

(a) There is an instance where the *anuvāda* of सं in संतापयति is weakened and the प is retained unchanged. This may be regarded as a direct evolution:—

सकल कला तु निशाकर शकरं सइ रि संताप ।

(*Vaṣanta Vilāsa*, 42).

(b) This process of weakening the *anuvāda* apparently in an otherwise *tatsama* word is visible in other places also; e. g.

शकुन विचारि संभाविआ आविआ तिहां वालंभ ।

(*Ibid*, St. 50)

Here the *anuvāda* in संभाविआ must be sounded weak as the metrical value requires it to be so.]

In instances (1), (3), and (7) the preceding vowel is lengthened. In the rest, it remains short, of these in only number (4) the succeeding consonant is doubled (महत्तं).

The process of dropping the *anuvāda* can be traced in an embryo (बीज) form in Prākṛit: *St. Hl. VIII-i-28, 29* are instances in point. Under those *sūtras* विंशति: becomes, in Prākṛit, वीसा, त्रिंशत् becomes तीसा, and so forth. Thus the present *utsarga* may be viewed as an अनुपूर्ति.

UTSARGA III

The following words add the *anuvāda* but keep it strongt

Class C. Utsarga thus preserving the value of the conjunc,
III; strong *anuvāda* added in the originale.—
some cases.

| | | |
|------|------------------------------|--------|
| Skr. | Prākṛ. or Ap. or Deśya. | Guj. |
| | (Deśya) धत्तरो ⁸⁷ | धत्तरो |

86. Vide *Kumārāpāla Charita*, VI, 86. Personally I am inclined to regard this फंसापेइ as a verb made out of फंशु, पाशु.

87. The *anuvāda* at the end of a *tadbhava* word when coming after आ (as in the plural of neuter gender nouns ending in टं), or after ए and ओ is also कौमल; e. g. गाढां, पाढां; हें (interj.) = What? मो=an imitative sound as of a brass trumpet,

| | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| वादित्रं | direct | वाजित्र |
| पक्षी | पक्षरी | पंखी |
| पक्षः | पक्षरज | पंखो |
| विनतिः | विण्णत्ती | विनंति (विनंती) |

[*Cf. Hindi मित from Skr. मित्र. Cf. also old Gujarāṭī वालंभ from Skr. वल्लभ; quoted above from Vansana-Viśva, 50).*]

The principles governing the pronounciation of *anusrāra* in Gujarāṭī may be laid down as under:—

Principles governing the pronounciation of anusrāra in Gujarāṭī; तीव्र, कोमल, कोमलतर and कोमलतम anusrāra.

(क) In *tatsama* as well as *tadbhava* words an internal *anusrāra* after a short vowel is alway तीव्र (i. e. hard) e. g. अंक, इंद, निंदा, नंग, इंदल; etc.

(ख) The *anusrāra* after a long vowel in *tatsama* words is तीव्र (hard); e. g. वान्त, पदान्त, एकान्त, नरेन्द्र etc..

(These are generally written फान्त, नरेन्द्र, etc., in the form of a conjunct of a class nasal and the following consonant, and so this is no case of *anusrāra*.)

(ग) The *anusrāra* after a long vowel in *tadbhava* words is कोमल (soft); e. g. रंक, रंकडो, पांडो, आंघडो; पांड़, रीठ, धींली; पूंछड़, रूंपडुं; रंघडुं; सोंपडुं; etc..

Exception:—

उपरांत The *anusrāra* here is तीव्र; the result of some false analogy, as of एकान्त and the like.

(घ) The *anusrāra* on the vowel at the end of a *tadbhava* word is कोमलतर; e. g. दादि, अदि, नदि; घडं; etc..

(ङ) The *anusrāra* after a short vowel inside *tadbhava* words of the following type is कोमलतर, e. g. ईवारो, ईपळ, छेयाळो, etc..

[This is, in a way, an exception to the principle (क).]

(च) The *anusrāra* after the vowel उ at the end of *tadbhava* words (including the neuter gender, or the first person singular present tense of verbs, or words like हुं) is कोमलतम; e. g. सुं, साहुं, पाहुं, पाहुं; आहुं, आहुं; हुं; etc..

It will be interesting to note with regard to this कोमलतम *anuvāra* (indicated under (च) just now) that its pronunciation varies in intensity in different parts of Gujarāt, and this variation can be demarcated broadly thus:—

कोमलतम *anuvāra* pronounced in varying degrees of weakness in different parts of Gujarāt.
It is strongish in Surat and Broach Districts, and in Kātibhāṇḍa, almost resembling a powerful कोमल *anuvāra*;

It is middling strong or weak in the Ahmedabad District and round about, and represents the true कोमलतम sound; and—

It is weakest, almost to a vanishing point, in Oharotara (the tract between the Vātraka and the Mahi rivers.)

[Notes:—

(1) In poetry the final उं (as also इं as in नहिं, दहिं &c.) is optionally गुरु or लघु (i. e. quantitatively long or short). This is a mere convention due to a desire for metrical convenience and the liberty which vernacular prosody takes with the quantity of syllables, unlike Sanskrit where the syllabic quantity is rigorously adhered to.

(2) This *anuvāra* is retained in the neuter gender singular in the nominative case only, in other cases (in the singular number) it is dropped, e. g. गाढाने, गाढाहें etc.; [गाढांने would be plural]. Pārsī Gujarātī disregards this rule and writes गाढांने &c. in the singular number also. But it is unrecognised by शिष्ट Gujarātī; and those who, like the late Kavi Narmadāśankar (who at one time wrote पोपटनां पेट जेवां (see his Sāra Śākuntala), adopt this incorrect practice, betray a deplorable ignorance of the genius of their mother-tongue. An unconscious and unnecessary anxiety to distinguish the neuter gender from the masculine, i. e. to emphasize the neuter gender of गाढांने as distinguishable from the masculine gender of घोढांने, is responsible for this error, an error which lands the writer into the confusion between the singular and plural number in the neuter gender forms themselves! For गाढांने would be plural also.]

Marāṭhī presents a curious analogy to Gujarāṭī in the matter of this *anusvāra* even as to the territorial divisions where the sound varies in intensity. The *Marāṭhī analogy in this respect, even as to territorial divisions.* *अं* in Gujarāṭī corresponds to the *ए* in Marāṭh (this as regards the nouns and adjectives in neuter gender only; the other forms of verbs, for instance, present no resemblance). Thus the nasal in the final *ए* (केले, गेले, पोवळे, केळे, etc.) is strongish in the Konkan portion of Mahārāshṭra, and weak in the Dēsa portion i. e. Dakhan proper.

Mr. R. L. Turner has contributed a suggestive and instructive article on "The Indo-Aryan Nasals in Gujarāṭī" to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (January 1915), some points treated wherein may very well be noticed here. They refer to

Mr. R. L. Turner's discussion of the Indo-Aryan Nasals, partly examined and appreciated

- (a) The influence of the lost accent on the change of *म* to nasalized *व* (वँ),
 and (b) The loss of nasality due to changes in accent.

Under (a) Mr. Turner points out⁸⁸ that in Gujarāṭī गम retains the *म* and does not change it to गाँव (as in Hindi and Marāṭhī), but हुमार becomes हुँवारे, because the accent precedes the nasal in the former and follows it in the latter.⁸⁹ He also

88. See P. 21 of the Journal, text and foot-note.

89. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar regards the *म* in गम as a return back to *म* from *वँ* (see his Lectures, P. 177) on the ground that Gujarāṭī changes *वँ* to *म* in other cases where an original *वँ* (by itself or evolved from *व*) exists, e. g. Skt. क्वाट्, Pr. क्वाट्, G. क्माट्, प्राप् (Skt.), पार् (Pr.), पार् (G.). The only doubt is that in cases like गाँव, नाँव &c. the *वँ* exists only in cognate languages like Hindi and Marāṭhī, and these are not intermediate languages between Prākṛit and Gujarāṭī, unless we take गाँव, नाँव as Apabhraṃśa forms, and therefore intermediate steps, which is what Dr. Bhāndārkar perhaps really means. All the same Mr. Turner's theory can be accepted as supplementary to Dr. Bhāndārkar's view.

points out⁹⁰ that the nasal is lost in the change from पृच्छन्तः (Pr. पुच्छन्तो) to पूछतो (Guj.), (Skr.) पञ्चासत् to (G) पचास, and the like because the accent is shifted from अन्त to the root-syllable in the case of पुच्छतो-पूछतो; as regards पचास (G.) he has not definitely pointed out the change of accent, but presumably the accent is believed to shift from पं to चा and hence the loss of the nasality of प.

This is really a very instructive and suggestive treatment and the whole article is worth close study; though it must be admitted that in several places there is radical error, as when, at P. 83, in regarding the ह् as dropped in words like हूनो (which he calls ऊनो), प्दानो (पानो according to him, from प्रस्नव), त्दमे (तमे as he puts it), हमे (अमे), Mr. Turner clearly ignores the principles which regulate the हकार in Gujarātī words. These I have already indicated and discussed in the foregoing portion of my Lectures, and are more or less irrelevant here.

UTSARGA IV.

The above discussion leads up to another *utsarga* dealing with nasalized soft consonants. It possesses features peculiar to Gujarātī more than its sister language, and on that ground may not belong to class C. However I prefer to deal with it here because it is closely connected with and suggested by the discussion just closed, and secondly because there are some features shared in common by Gujarātī and Marāṭhī and Hindi. This fact will be manifest in the course of the following treatment.

This *utsarga* may be broadly stated thus:—

The nasal (fifth letter) of a class is changed to a nasalized pure sonant (third letter) of that class, when the syllable containing that nasal is accented, i. e. न becomes ण, म becomes ढ, ण becomes ण.⁹¹

90. See P. 32, 6.42 in the Journal in question.

91. ण, ढ and ण are to be taken as similar to the weak nasalized न in Apabhraṃśa (मोऽनुनासिको वेवा H. VIII. iv-397), and not like the strong nasalized ण in तल्लोकान् in Sanskrit. Closely scrutinized, however, this instance will disclose the fact that the strength is due to the

(It is not possible to find ऌ and ड affected in this manner, for they do not occur as independent consonants in words).

This nasalization is expressed conveniently and simply by putting the pure sonant and nasalizing the preceding vowel by marking it with nn *añusvāra*. I shall adopt this simpler symbol.

Examples:—

न

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| -पान + इ (G.) | पांइ |
| घानरकः (Skr.) | वांइरो |
| मीनी (G.) = a cat + ई | मींइदी |
| जानी (G.) + fem. term. अण | जांइण (used in rural G.) |
| जानियो + fem. term. अरणी | जांइरणी |
| (1) "जोटे जांइरणी घणी कोटे जोवा ज सररी" | |

Navalarām, Bāla-guṇabātali, P. 15.

(2) बोलइ मंगल ये जांइणी, चंड जमलि येइवी चांइणी.

Vimala-prabandha, V, 82.

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| पंचदश (Skr.) | पयइ (Pr.) | पंइर |
| भगिनीपतिः (Skr.) | बहिणीयइ (Pr.) | } } बंइवी |
| | (बहनीयइ बनहीयइ) | |
| अभिज्ञान (Skr.) | अइण्णण (Pr.) | } } पंइरी (Sūratī G.) |
| | (अइण्णण-अइण्णण- अइण्णण-अइण्णण) | |
| | | अंइण |

म

| | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| गाम+इ | | गांवइ |
| चाम+इ | | चांवइ |
| आमलकः (Skr.) | आमलउं (Ap.) | आंवउं |
| वर्धमानं (Skr.) | वइदमाय (Ap.) | वइवाण (name of a town) |
| शास्त्रिः (Skr.) | सिम्बली | सींइली |

(See *Dīpī-Nāma-Mālā* P. 168, St. 17)

conjunct ऌ and not to any inherent quality of the nasal, for after all the न्, in this case also, gets split up into ऌ and nasality out of which the ऌ changes into इ before the following इ, and the nasality may be weak for aught we can tell.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| महामात्रः (Skr.) | महामातु (Ap.) | महावत-म्हावत-मावत |
| ° मात्र (as in दृष्टमात्रेण Skr.) | | ° वांत (as in दीशवात) |
| संमार्जनी (Skr.) | संमारजणी (direct) | सावरणी |
| पश्मणि, plur. (Skr.) | पश्यणी (Pr.) | |
| | (पाशण-पामण-पांण) | पांण |
| निर्माण (Skr.) | निर्वाण (G.) (in 'poetry in the sense of "truly"). | |
| निर्मन्त्रणकं (Skr.) | निर्मन्त्रणउं (Ap.) | नॉत्तुं - |
| | (निर्वन्त्रउं-नर्वन्त्रउं) | |
| सीमन्तरुः (Skr.) | सीमंतउ (Ap.) | { संथो (संथी) |
| | (सीमंतउ-सिअंतउ-सइंतउ) | |
| कदंमः (Skr.) | कदस (कदुँ Ap.) | कादव |
| गोदूमः (Skr.) | गोटुस (गोटुँ Ap.) | घडं |
| महिषी (Skr.) | महिसी (Pr.) | |
| | (म्हइसी-ँवइइसी) | भेंश |
| (Cl. M. म्हइस, म्हैस) | | |

अमारी (Arabic) = 1. The name of the inventor of the litter; and then, 2. a litter, itself. G. अम्बारी (=the canopied *hov dah* on an elephant; from its resemblance to a litter.); मा-वा-वा-म्मा (strong through mistake of same sort).

ण

| | | |
|--------------|-------------|------------|
| अधुना (Skr.) | अहुणा (Pr.) | इरडां (G.) |
| | (इउणा-दवणा) | |

(*Mugdhârabodha Anukula*, P. 16, Col. 1, has इरडां. So this change is as old as the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era).

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| अद्वयानद् (Skr.) | अधुवाणट्ट (Pr.) | अडवाणो (G.); |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------|

(The primary sense in G. is 'nushod', 'shoeless'; then it goes into a freer meaning, 'not wearing the usual article of dress, ornament or the like).

"राणी आपोटु निदती रे अडवाणी पंथे जाय." (*Śilātī-nō-dīden*; V. vi. 2).

आपणे

आपटे

आपणुं

आपडुं

[Of. S. मादृह्-मादृ (Skr. मादृहः); मादृ is also found in old folk-lore stanzas in Kāthiāwādi dialects].

A careful observation of the phonetic phenomenon in these cases will show that, under the operation of some curious force, of which recent is a prominent aspect, the class nasal disintegrates its constituents, which are the pure sonance and nasality; in other words न, म, ण are, if analyzed phonetically, simply द, ब, ङ respectively passed through the nose, i. e. with nasality superimposed. (An attempt to pronounce the nasals without the active help of the nasal passage, as when a person has caught a cold in the nose and tries to pronounce the nasals, leads to the production of the non-nasal sonants, this is a significant indication). This disintegration of the constituents is followed by a re-arrangement thereof wherein the non-nasal sonant becomes prominent and the nasality gets softened, thus yielding द, ब, ङ.

[Bearing this analysis of this process in mind, I am afraid I can not agree with Dr. Gunc when, in his *Introduction to Comparative Philology*, Page 51, he sees in this phonal phenomenon the working of the principle of *Anaptyxis* (एकसंज्ञि) in a new variety, i. e. he simply sees in this an "insertion of a consonant between two consonants belonging to different places of articulation". To take one of the instances given by him, M. बंदर from यानर (Skr.), the द really is between न and अ i. e. between a consonant and a vowel and not between two consonants, and as already stated now, the nasalization of the sonants (whether soft as in M. तंदर or strong as in M. तुम्बर), arises out of the disintegration of the constituents of the nasal, and not through any interpolation of a consonant.]

I have said that accent plays a part in bringing about this disintegration of a nasal; that it is but an aspect of a curious

force. For in words like જાનૈયા and જાંદરણી it cannot be claimed that accent is the regulating factor here, for જૈ is accented clearly. It would seem that other forces also co-operate here, for instance, in words of the type of વાંદરો, પાંદરું &c. the contiguity of cerebrals like જ and ર render the pronunciation of the nasal (&c.) a little difficult, and thus the change to વંદ &c.; besides this, the fact of a short vowel, like અ, following the nasal in such words leaves the nasal insufficiently supported and this also helps towards the disintegration.

It will be observed that in some instances the nasalization,

Nasalization lost after the softening and sometimes shifted forward. after the softening, gets lost; as in સારણી, કાઢવ, મહાવત, આપદે, આપદું, દવરાં; while in some cases the nasalization is shifted forward instead of backward, as in વાંત (કીઠવાંત); in

fact there is no room for a backward movement in this case as the મ (in માત્ર) begins a word; મહાવત fares similarly, as મહા and માત્ર are practically separable parts; ખેંદ undergoes the same forward shifting of the nasal for the same reason, viz: no room for backward movement.

Again, it will be seen that in some instances this change of a nasal into a nasalized pure sonant is but in the nature of a transitional phase, as in પાંવળ, અંદુહાળ, નવેતર, which yield the final forms પાંવળ,⁹² અંવાળ, નાંતેરું.

I need not point out that in some cases the વ evolved from

In rare cases the nasal is strong after disintegration

the મ is further changed to વ as in કાઢવ, મહાવત વાંત, સારણી, વદવાળ &c.. But another noticeable feature must be indicated pointedly; in

~~rare cases the disintegration, instead of~~ softening the nasal, leaves it strengthened, as in વપેલી, પંદર. This

92. The વ in પાંવળ, the soft વ is changed to the hard વ; rather a reverse process considering the tendency of Prakṛita to soften hard consonants. I have noticed this change before, see *supra*, Lecture III, P 75, under (5), c.

may be accounted for by the fact that पञ्चर loses thus:—⁹³पञ्च+नर, and this latter न turns into ण, thus preserving the strong nasal in पञ्चर. In कथेयी it is difficult to trace the cause, unless it be that न्दे in कन्धेयी somehow turns from a निर्वृत्तसंयोग into a सरलसंयोग.

I must state that the operation of this *utsarga* is as a rule optional; thus we have गामट्ठं and गांवट्ठं; पानट्ठं and पांदट्ठं, शीमळो and शीविळो; and so forth. Only in the case of चांदरो there is no option of चानरो.

The *utsarga* under consideration has its origin in rare instances in Apabhramśa; for we find संभर्र rendered possible in Apabhramśa under the operation of Si. Hc. VIII-ir-112 (म्होम्मोरा). The process here, obviously, is that of splitting the म into व and the nasal, and then combining व् and र् into म्. It must be recognised, however, that the म् here is a सरलसंयोग, and in so far it differs from our present *utsarga*. In Prākṛit also we have म changed to म्व in तम्वे, अम्वे, (ताव्र-आव्र) (see Si. Hc. VIII-ii-56), and अम्विलं (आम्व), (see Si. Hc. VIII-ii-106). Of course, the संयोग is strong here, because the process is really व-म्-म्व; म्व-म्-म्व. The weak nasal is found in its germ stage in Apabhramśa, where a simple म is changed to nasalized व (व्) as in कव्वे, भव्वे &c., (Si. Hc. VIII-ir-397). In these circumstances, the present *utsarga* cannot be classed as an अनुपूर्ति, but only one having its origin in the Prākṛits in a dīṣṇ form.

UTSARGA V.

Class C, utsarga V; A pure sonant of a class changed to the nasal of that class.

A reverse phonetic process to that of the lost *Utsarga* is noticed in Gujarāṭi. It may be simply stated thus:—

A pure sonant of a class is changed to the nasal of that class. This involves in some cases the interpolation of an adventitious nasal to nasalize the

93. This breaking up of the word does not signify any grammatical separation, or separation based on meaning; it is designed only to mark the phoral genesis of the strong sound.

| | | |
|---------------|-------------|--|
| कपाट (Skr.) | कवाट (Ap.) | कमाट (G.) |
| गवाइनी (Skr.) | गयाअणी (Pr) | गमाण्य, गमाण (G.) (= a trough for cattle to eat out of). |
| वाञ्छा (Skr.) | वंछा (Pr) | मंछा (G.) |
| धाय (Skr.) | | घाम (G.) (only in दोटधाम) |
| धीयर (Skr.) | धीयर (Ap.) | दीयर (G.) |

“धोडा जटमां पेडो नळ राजा दीमरुं आचरण”

(Praminanda *Nalāthyāna* V 1111)

Br Kar. Dohana, P. 168)

| | | |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| नीयार (Skr.) | नीयार (Ap) | नमार (G) |
| अधुना (Skr.) | अटुणा (Pr.) | |
| | (इउणा-इउणा) | इमणां (G.) |
| उपयंर (Skr.) | उपवंउ (Ap) | सपरमो (G.) (सपरमो दिनस= a holiday). |
| सावत्सरिक् (Skr.) | सांयच्छरिअ (Pr.) | समचरी (G.) |
| | (आइं is understood here). | |
| संजुध्यते (Skr.) | संजुम्यइ (Pr.) | समजे (G.) |
| दयामणो (Dāya) | | दयामणो (G.) |
| शपथ (Skr.) | मयहु (Ap.)—सय—सम (G) | |
| सौरभं (Skr.)—direct—र to ड, इ (split off from भ)+ड=ड, सोदव-सोदम (G.) | | |
| शुम्बति (Skr.) | चूंयइ (Pr.)—चूंयइ—चुमे (G) | |
| बिन्दुः (Skr.) | बिंदु (Pr.) | मींदु (G.) |
| वडभः (Skr.) | वडहु (Ap.) वलउ | “वालम |
| | वलहु | |
| महाणंर (Skr.) | महारणु (Ap.)— | मिहिरामण |
| | महारणु महारमण | (In old poetry) |

Cf. Bhāṇa's *Kādambarī Purāṇa-bhāṇa*, XIII, l. 50

मिहिरामण मण्डित अति कोर्दी

महेरामणसिंह is known as a proper noun amongst Rajputs even at present.

97. *Varanta-l dāta* (V. S 1508) has वलंम St 50, and St 72, in one place the *a usedra* is strong, in another it is weak. Could it be, then, that this word entered the वज्रविद्या at some stage and gave वलम-वज्रम direct?

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| उत्तर्पणी (=rising higher up; there- fore bidding at an auction) | उच्छप्पणी उछपणी उछावणी परिहावणिआ पारिहावणी | उछामणी (=an auction sale). परिरामणी |
|--|--|---|

Similarly all words with मणी or मण as the termination, as लखामणी, मंडामणी, सचवामणी, दळामण and the like, owe the म् to a change of व् to म्, the व् being an evolutive of प्, found, in later evolution of *post*-Apabhramśa, in causal forms, the termination, or rather the *āgama* आप् in आपय् being applied almost to all roots and not confined, as in Skr., to दापयति, धापयति, मापयति &c.,.

[In cases like कमाव, गमाण &c., there is an adventitious nasal interpolated before the व (evolutive or original) so as to yield a nasalized व which in its turn yields the म.]

[महार्णव is a conjectural derivation, suggested to me by a friend. But it seems very reasonable in all its phonetic steps; महार्णव by विश्लेष; महारावण by metathesis of आ and अ (of हा and र) and of ण् and व्, and then व (nasalized by the proximity of ण) changed to म.]

कर्मवर्तः कलवउ-कलवउ-कलवो-कामो; (कर्मलो in old Gujarātī literature, for instances whereof see *infra*, *utsarga* XII).

Notes.—

(a) The म in the Gujarātī inflections of the pronouns ए, ते, जे, viz. हेमने, रहेमने, जे'मने can be traced to a व evolved from ओ, for we have also the forms एओने, तेओने, जेओने, as alternative plurals. The ह can be traced to the older stage in Apabhramśa and since, which gave एह, तेह, जेह.

(b) Si. Hc. VIII-i-259, स्वप्ननीत्योयो would give the Gujarātī शमय (through the Pr. (सिमिणो-सिविणो)). This and the previous *sūtra* शबरेयोमः contain the germ of our present *utsarga*, but not so prominent or widely developed as to justify our classing the present *utsarga* as an अनुवृत्ति.

[The alternative Prākṛit forms तुयं and तुमं from त्वं (Skr.) indicate a similar process: त्वं gets a sort of विश्लेष and becomes तुयं;

य of this (through व and ॳव) becomes म, and so we have मुमे (१)].

Sindhi मिनथ is traceable to Skr. मिनत्ति; G. मिनंती, through this change of य to म.

(Persian सुगन्ता is changed to सुगन्ता in Gujarāt under the principle of this *utsarga*. [नरा, which signifies "a note in music," "song", loses its restricted meaning in Gujarāt and सुगन्ता is said to denote any pleasant thing, pleasant to the eye even e. g.

अहि सुगन्ता इदती गृही चीतरी, कलम मस्त की !

(*Chitra-darśana*; H. H. Dhruva).]

UTSARGA VI

Class C; *utsarga* VI; त (an evolution of क, रम, र, प्र, र्), when not changed to ह, gets changed to प in some cases.

I now come to an *utsarga* which is open to some controversy, as it militates against some orthodox views. I would at once enunciate the *utsarga*:

त, evolved in Prākṛit either from क or from र or from रम or from प्र or from र्, and when not changed to ह or when not remaining as त, gets changed to प in the Prākṛit.

Examples:—

| Skr. | Pr. | Guj. |
|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| शक्तिः | तिप्पि | टीप |
| आदमा | अप्पा (or अत्ता) | आप |
| स्वन | त्तण (abstract termination) | पण ⁹⁸ |
| स्व | त्त | प (as in पयडापो, बुद्धापो) |
| त्वा (जित्वा) | एप्पि (जेप्पि) | |
| कर्त्तव्यति | कर्त्त | कापे |

(H. वादना would be from कट्टे; G. वातुं would be from कृन्तति (Skr.)—कंठ (Pr.)).

उत्तरं उत्तरं⁹⁹ उत्तरं

98. सुस्वन and पुष्पवन giving सुस्वण and पुष्पवण furnish exceptions.

99. Just as उत्तरं would be उत्तर (Pr) and वातुं (Skratt G) is विशेष and doubling of the त्ति is विशेष. उत्तर in उत्तर वत्त may be compared with advantage.

members of conjuncts (म as a second member and य as first or second) get always lost (अधोमनषाम्, *Si. H.* VIII-iii-78; सर्वत्रय-रामयन्त्रे, VIII-ii-79); those in all the cases noted त्म and त्व would leave त initially. Whence then the य-producing power of the म and य after their elision? Mr. Benmes minimizes the value of this invariable elision of म and य, and makes the dental go on, which is hardly acceptable. Such an elision of a dental is unknown. Thirdly, even if it be argued that the elided म and य leave a kind of labializing influence, a संस्कार, behind them, how shall we account for the य change in words where there is no म or य,—viz: in शुक्ति, कर्तयति, छत्रकं?¹⁰¹ If, then, the त as the first evolute in these words distinctly gives the ण, why should not the same explanation hold good in the case of words having त्म or त्व? And, lastly, it will be seen that as a matter of fact the ण has unquestionably come through त even in words with न त्व e.g. रत्न first become तण, रत्न first becomes त in Prākṛit itself, and the पण and य come thereafter. This then is a clear indication of the त and ण being related in evolution, the question of phonal affinity or want of it remaining a mystery just at present.¹⁰²

(म् or प्) being reduced to द initially and gradually weakening into a relatively subordinate position, while बुद्धमत् also has the sonant द comparatively inferior to the hard द in अप्पा &c..

101. As regards छत्रकं, I am afraid it is only an attempt to bring in a व somehow. But, even then, छत्र would be छत्र in Prākṛit, and the ण will therefore be an evolute of छ after all. Besides, छत्र means (1) a house, and (2) a bower, but not a roof or anything leading up to it, as छत्र fittingly does, and छत्र is a comparatively out of the way word.

102. A conjecture may however be advanced as furnishing a probable key to the mystery. भप्पा, मिप्पी and the like are of the nature of Dīśya formations, while भत्ता, मुत्ती and the like may either be the Sanskritized forms of the Dīśya words or the two sets may be running on parallel lines in Sanskrit and Dīśya, where the relation between त्म and ण can stand on phonal principles different from those influencing the evolution of Aryan languages.

[It may be specially noted that the change to *प्* is noted in this *utsarga*, in the Prākṛit stage, even before it travels into the Gojārātī formation, except in the case of उत्तरवर्ग, त्वन, and त्व.]

Now it will be objected on behalf of the orthodox view that *त्* is itself capable of change to *प्*, dentals and labials having no affinity in phonetic evolution; that, closely examined the *प* is traceable to the labial element in the form of *व* or *म*. *St. III. VIII-ii-51 ff.* will be brought forward in support of this, whereby भस्म becomes भप्प, आत्मा becomes अप्पा, कुश्मल becomes कुप्पल, रक्मिणी becomes रप्मिणी, भीष्म becomes भिप्प and श्रेष्म becomes शेप्प. छापणुं is traced by these objectors from छत्वरक (Skr.) and not छत्रक (Skr.).

Then, we have Mr. Beames (Vol. I, Pp. 329-330) advancing the theory that *व* preceded by a dental forms a strong nexus, the natural result of which is that the dental goes out, but leaves behind a trace, in as much as it changes the *व* into its own grade; thus in आत्मन्-अप्पा, the *म* first becomes *व* then the *व* changes into *प* which is hardened into *प्* under the influence of the preceding *त्*.

Finally, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (Lectures, Pp. 193-194) holds that when *व्*, as the latter member of a conjunct, is heavily pronounced, the double consonant that takes the place of the conjunct is *प्* when the preceding member is a sord. He cites the instances त्व, त्वन and आत्मन् (which last at first loses the nasal sound of *म* and becomes त्व).

Let us try and meet all these objections. I would at the start put a question, if the *प* is due to *व* or *म*, why is it that it is so only when *त्* is the first member of the conjunct? Why does not *व* or *म* turn into *प* when preceded by other hard consonants e.g. why is सट्ठा not changed in सप्पा, but becomes पट्ठा, or पक्व not changed to पप्प, but becomes पक्क? I recognise, कम becomes प in रक्मिणी-रप्मिणी. But that stands by itself.¹⁰⁰ Secondly, *म* and *व* as

100. I say it is a solitary instance, because in the case of मस्म, भीष्म, and श्रेष्म the conjunct holds *व्* as a prominent member, the sibilant

members of conjuncts (म as a second member and व as first or second) get always lost (अधोमनयाम्, *Si. III. VIII-iii-78*; सर्वलव-रामवन्दे, *VIII ii-79*); thus in all the cases noted त्म and त्व would leave त initially. Whence then the प-producing power of the म and व after their elision? Mr. Beames minimizes the value of this invariable elision of म and व, and makes the dental go out, which is hardly acceptable. Such an elision of a dental is unknown. Thirdly, even if it be argued that the elided म and व leave a kind of labializing influence, a संस्कार, behind them, how shall we account for the प change in words where there is no म or व,—viz: in शुक्ति, कर्तयति, छत्रकं ?¹⁰¹ If, then, the त as the first evolute in these words distinctly gives the प्प, why should not the same explanation hold good in the case of words having त्म or त्व? And, lastly, it will be seen that as a matter of fact the प्प has unquestionably come through त even in words with a त्व e.g. दत्त first become तण्ण, रत्त first becomes त्त in Prākṛit itself, and the पण्ण and पत्त come thereafter. This then is a clear indication of the त and प्प being related in evolution, the question of phonal affinity or want of it remaining a mystery just at present.¹⁰²

(म् or प्) being reduced to द् initially and gradually weakening into a relatively subordinate position, while बुद्ध्म also has the sonant द् comparatively inferior to the surd द् in अप्पम् &c..

101. As regards उत्तरकं, I am afraid it is only an attempt to bring in a व somehow. But, even then, उत्तर would be उत्तर in Prākṛit, and the प्प will therefore be an evolute of त् after all. Besides, उत्तर means (1) a house, and (2) a bower, but not a roof or anything leading up to it, as उन्न fittingly does; and उत्तर is a comparatively out of the way word.

102. A conjecture may however be advanced as furnishing a probable key to the mystery. अप्पम्, सिप्पि and the like are of the nature of Diśya formations, while मत्तम्, मुत्तम् and the like may either be the Sanskritized forms of the Diśya words or the two sets may be running on parallel lines in Sanskrit and Diśya, where the relation between त् and प्प can stand on phonal principles different from those influencing the evolution of Aryan languages.

As regards Dr Bhandarkar's views, all that need be said is that he had before him only a limited number of cases वन, व, and आत्मन्. Words like व, वर्तयति, वृत्ति¹⁰³ were apparently not present in his mind. Hence the partial conclusion arrived at by him. So it seems to me.

UTSARGA VII

The Prakrit sound of च, छ, ज, झ

This feature is shared by Gujarati with Marathi, but not with Hindi. Bangali, too, does not possess the Prakrit sound of these letters, so far as the language spoken by the cultured classes goes but it does possess the Prakrit sound also (See Beames I, 71-72). Marathi goes to the other extreme and sounds the च almost as स. More about it later on. Just now let us define the scope of this sound so far as Gujarati is concerned after first examining the nature of this special sound.

That स and प were at one stage mutually interchangeable is born out by Dr Tessitori's observation in his Notes § 25 (P 16). The instances cited by him are —

- 1 जगत्पेश which he connects with जगत्पेश (Skr), ~जगदीश्वर correctly
- 2 जिपवड from जिपवड, Skr जिप, (जिपव ?)
- 3 तगड from पगड from Ap रूपणड from Skr आरमणक
- 4 पोड from आपोड from अप्पुमप

No 3 is Dr Tessitori's original discovery, but seems reasonable though the original Sanskrit प remains unaccounted for — which presents a hitch. As regards No 4, I derive पोड from अ सम-अप्पु-पु-पोड

103 I am aware that Hémachandra relegates वृत्ति to a side-show *śūtra* where in a mixed list of words and *dhāras* सिप्पी is given as a ready made *dhāra* of वृत्ति. But an examination of the whole case shows that च gives the प and hence वृत्ति can be rightly brought within the uniform scheme giving the change of च to प.

The चर्म in Sanskrit has तालु on the palate for its स्थान i. e.

The nature of the Sanskrit and the Prākṛit sounds compared, the former called दृढ तालव्य the latter दन्ततालव्य or अर्धतालव्य. Beames' analysis, dental and sibilant elements in the pure sound fully united; in the latter they are distinct.

the tongue comes into contact with the palate, or rather with that part of the palate which is towards the teeth. The Prākṛit sound, on the other hand, is produced by the contact of the tongue a little lower down, and the contact is lighter, partaking of sibilation of a peculiar kind. Mr. Beames calls them unasimilated palatals, because "whereas in the Aryan the dental and sibilant of which they are composed have become so united into one sound that the elements can no longer be

separately recognized, in the Turanian class the elements are still distinct". (Vol I, P. 72). This is a fairly correct analysis. I once called this Prākṛit sound दन्ततालव्य.¹⁰⁴ But it would be better to call it अर्धतालव्य to mark the lighter contact noted above. I have also called it the Prākṛit sound because, as stated in a foregoing lecture, this peculiar sound is foreign to Sanskrit and known to Pāli and the Prākṛits alone.¹⁰⁵ How the Prākṛits got the sound is a matter for a separate inquiry. I have already hinted at a possible explanation and shall soon have to go into

Territorial distribution of this sound in Gujardī of present.

the question further. As regards Gujardī, however, during present days the territorial distribution of this sound is markedly definable. In the Surat and Broach Districts the Prākṛit

104. I find Sir Grierson calls this sound *dento-palatal*. (See his article on the *Prākṛit Palatals*, J. R. A. S. 1913 A. D pp. 391 ff.)

105. See *supra*, Lecture I, P. 8.

The fact that चन्द्रगुप्त became *Sandracottus* in the mouth of the Greeks, marking the change of च to स (थ) points to the original name being pronounced in India with a Prākṛit च as early as 322 B. C. This was when Pāli was a spoken language (See Dr. Dhavalikar's *Lectures* P. 302 for Pāli being a spoken language then). This would mark the Mongol influence in Bengal and Bihar independently of the Mongol influence which came through the Gurjars into Gujardī and Māvaḍī some nine centuries later.

sound is practically altogether unknown. Even the villagers pronounce the letters with the Sanskrit sound,—full palatal. In the rest of Gujarāt, i. e. the Districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, the Panch Mahāls, Baroda Territory South of the Mahi river, Northern Gujarāt and some parts of Kāthiāwāḍa,—in short in the major portion of Gujarāt, the sound is sometimes Sanskrit and sometimes

Prākṛit, and this variation follows certain definable principles. These are as under.—

The principles governing the Prākṛit and the Sanskrit sound

(a) In all *tatsama* words, wherever the letters च, छ, ज, झ, occur, the sound is शुद्ध तालव्य, i. e. Sanskrit.

(b) In all *tadbhava*, and *désya* words, the sound is अर्धतालव्य, i. e. Prākṛit,—unless

(1) the letters are united with ह, ए, ऐ or य;

or (2) ज or झ is an evolante of an original य in Sanskrit; in which case the sound is शुद्ध तालव्य,

(Note—The य mentioned in (2) may either be a simple य or a conjunct such as य, र्य, व्य or व्य.¹⁰⁶)

(c) The palatals in words derived from English, Persian and such other foreign languages, are शुद्ध तालव्य, (unless they themselves are from foreign sounds like the English z)

106. The ready made *désyas* of these conjuncts are ज्ञ, झ, ञ and ञ respectively. But a true analysis will show that—first the ह, र् and र् in the case of य, र्य and व्य are dropped under the operation of the general rule of dropping particular members of conjuncts (S. III-VIII—11 77, 78, and 79) In the case of व्य the phonetic process is that the ह in र् undergoes विच्छेद and is mixed with the र्; thus व्य becomes र्+य+ह, then the ह is dropped, leaving र्ह, the र् becomes र् and the ह aspirates the र् into र्ह, by getting fully सकीर्ण with it. The only exceptional part in this process is that in Prākṛit an initial र् becomes र्, whereas here it is uninitial.

This is one theory. As regards य and व्य, however, a better theory is found in the palatalization by the य (itself a palatal) of dentals, whereby र् becomes र्य (सर्प-सर्प), व्य becomes व्ह (पथ्य-पथ्य), य becomes य (मय-मय), and व्य becomes व्ह (वय-वय).

ILLUSTRATIONS.

(a) उच्चार, विचार, वाञ्छना, एत; जन; संसाधन; etc..

(b) *general rule*.—

चरखं, चारो, चादर, चूकावतुं, चुनो, चूकतुं, चौर, चौदणो, चार्क,
 चौदं etc.; छरहो, छ, छरय, छातं, छाग, छाडर, छट्टं, छदं, छोकरो, छोड,
 छडियं, etc.; जर, जण, जाणतुं, जादं, जुदं, जुठं, जडं, जोर, जांतुं, जोरतुं,
 जर्मि etc.; मर, मरहो, मार, मारी, मातं, मातर, मरतुं, मरतुं, मोडी,
 मरि etc..

Exclusions —

(b)-(1)

घीलो, घीकणुं, चेंयट, चेंलो, चेंतर; etc.

ਓਂਕ, ਓਂਕੁੰ, ਓੀ, ਓਹੋ, ਓਲ; etc.

ખીતયું, જીવદું, જોડયું, જમ; etc.

मीथुं, मर; etc.

यांच्य, पूछ्य, तज्य, बीश्य; etc.

(b)-(2)

य—जस (from Skr. यञ्), जात्रा (Skr. यात्रा), जाग (Skr. याग), जुग (Skr. युग), जगन (Skr. यज्ञ), जोग (Skr. योग), जोजन (Skr. योजन), जोवन (Skr. यौवन), जोहो (Skr. योध or योद्धा); etc.

च—जुगटुं, जुगार, जुगारी, (Skr. श्रुतकर्तुं, श्रुतकार्यं, श्रुतसार.);

यं—काज (Skr. कार्यं, Pr. वज);

प्य—सेज (Skr. शय्या, Fr. सेज्जा);

१५—सांस्त (Skr. संख्या, Pr. संस्त), मास्तम^{१०१} (Skr. मध्यम Pr. मन्त्रिम);

[The इ in स्मि may perhaps have contributed to the Sanskrit word.]

¹⁰⁸वंसा, वांसणी (Skf. वन्ध्या, Pr. वंसा).

[Here, even if the व is altered to ज, the pure ताम्र essence of व. varivra वा संस्कृत, just as अरुण blood runs in the veins of many a mixed-blooded caste in India.]

107. સુવ અનુવગ કોમલ જાણ્ય, કાઢી જણાતે માણ્ય તણ્ય.

(Simala Bhat's *Nanda Batra*, 1. 84)

108. दमयन्तीनी जंघा देवी बेज ररी काचयंता.

(Primaunda's Na'Allyina iv, वरन)

(c) चोच, चोचदाग, जज्ज, जादू, जंगल, etc.

But नजर, सज़ा अज़मादा etc. have the Prākṛit sound because the originals contain a z-like sound.

An extensive and complicated *utsarga* like this is bound to

Some exceptions:
possible explanation
in some cases

have exceptions, some accountable and some unaccountable in our present state of knowledge. These may be noted here:—

(1) छैयो. The sound here is Prākṛit, although there is ऐ with the छ;

(2) ज, जव, जम; The sound in these is Prākṛit, although the ज is an evolte of a य in Sanskrit.

(3) आज (for अय), आजो (from आयें), छाज, छाजली (from छाय), रीजे (from खिज्ज Pr., खियते Skr.) have a Prākṛit sounding ज, although evolved out of य, ये;

(4) चकडुं, चकली, चगडोळ (Skr. चक्रदोला), चार (= four), चखो (Skr. चक्रवाक), चौबीस (= twenty-four), जमडुं, जणडुं, जमणुं, जग, जगत; कच्छुं, कच्छुं, काचडुं, काचली, कचकडुं, काचगे; छोटडुं, छूटुं (= a stump-hrueh), छूं छूं (= incantations); वजन; etc..

All these have a शुद्धतालव्य sound although they are *tadbhāvas* and without the modifying circumstances of ह, ए, ऐ and the like, and although वजन has in the original Persian a z-like sound.

[The शुद्धतालव्य sound in जमणुं may be explained by the fact that जिम् is the Sanskrit original, and the influence of the ह may have remained latent in the evolte जम्; so जेमणऐ is the *dēṣya* for जमणुं and the ए in जे may have done similar work, assuming the ज to be originally pure palatal. As regards चार, the pure palatal sound must be traced to a form with an ह in early times: च्यारि < चियारि < चयारि < चत्वारि (Skr.).]

In the case of (1), (2) and (3) the foreign influence which gave the Prākṛit sound must have predominated for some reason untraceable at present; possibly, as Mr. [unclear] suggests in the

case of Marāṭhi words, these words must have been early *tadbhavas*.¹⁰⁹

I have in my first Lecture, offered a suggestion as regards

*Foreign influence
the cause of the Prā-
krit sound, the theo-
ry expanded.*

the foreign influence which gave this sibilant sound to च, छ, ज, झ, even in the early Prākṛita. (*supra* p. 8). Let us try and carefully examine further the possible source of this influence. Let us look round. The sibilant sound of च, छ, ज, झ, exists in Gujarāṭī, no doubt. It exists in Marāṭhi also, but with a stronger sibilation. The circumstances which alter the sibilant to the non-sibilant sound are practically the same in Marāṭhi as in Gujarāṭī. As Mr. Beames has tersely put the principle, "In *tatsamas* and modern *tadbhavas* and before the palatal vowels, इ, ई, ए and ऐ, च is *ch* and ज *j*, but in early *tadbhavas*, *Dīśajas*, and before the other vowels, च sounds *ts* and ज *dz*". (Vol. I, p. 72). The grouping under early and modern *tadbhavas* will, it seems, cover my classification as regards the vowels of च, छ, ज, झ and so forth. Mr. Beames thinks that besides Marāṭhi no other cognate Indian language shares this peculiarity (viz: that of modifying the sibilant to non-sibilant sound under certain circumstances). I am afraid he has quite forgotten Gujarāṭī in this connection, for, as shown above, it observes the same rules. Could this have misled Professor Sten Konow in coming to the conclusion that the language of Saurashtra (=Kathiyava) was different from that of Gujarāt in the third century of the Valabhi era, the

former being Mahārāṣṭrī, the parent of modern Marāṭhi and the latter Śaurasenī, the parent of modern Gujarāṭī? For he bases his

*Dr Sten Konow's
view criticised.*

109. ज, the particle showing certainty, has the Prākṛit sound and there is an unmistakeable test of the truth of this. हाजने (=yes, certainly), pronounced in colloquial Marāṭhi, becomes हजेने. Here the change of ज to झ points to the Prākṛit sound, in which the sibilant element predominates. The very few persons who pronounce this ज with the Sanskrit sound contract हाजने into हाजेने, and that is quite natural, phonetically considered.

theory on the fact of *ṣy* being written instead of *ṣ* in words like *उयावाल* in a Valabhi copperplate of Valabhi Samvat 210 (= A. D. 530) found at Palitana,¹¹⁰ this practice of writing *ṣy* to denote the pure palatal as distinguished from the sound *ḍ* being noticeable in Modern Marāṭhī. I am aware that modern Marāṭhī people, generally of the uncultured class, add a *y* to the palatals like *च*, as *विच्चार* for *विचार* in order to mark the Sanskrit sound, the Prākṛit sound being predominant in the language. But if Professor Sten Konow had remembered that Modern Gujarātī possesses the Prākṛit sound just the same as Marāṭhī, he would not have rushed to the above conclusion on such slender basis. If documentary evidence of a later period were needed, Professor Sten Konow had only to look into *Vasanta Vilāsa* (v. s. 1508), st. 24, and he would have found *विचारि* written as *विच्चारि* (च+य) to distinguish the Sanskrit sound of *च* in *विचारी*, a fact necessarily implying the general Prakrit sound of *च* in those days too.¹¹¹

110 See his article in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, P. 105

The grant itself is worded in Sanskrit. But it is obvious that Sanskrit having ceased to be a living language before the sixth century A. D., the employment of the Sanskrit language in the grant was due to the practice of conforming with traditional convention. However, the fact of spelling *च* as *ṣy* even in Sanskrit composition (when Sanskrit possesses only the pure palatal sound) indicates that the origin of this mode of distinguishing the pure palatal from the dento-palatal of Prakrit was as old as the sixth century A. D.

111 I or further instances—see *Ujala prabandha* I, 39, 40, 41 (च्यारि, च्यार; both meaning *four*), 46 च्यालीस=*forty*, 85 (च्यारि=*four*, विचारि=*thinks*, this to be contrasted mutually), III, 3, (च्यारि), VI, 87, (च्यारि), Bhalana's *Kādambari*, P. 78 l. 15 (च्यारि=*four*), P. 132, l. 7 (विच्यार=*two or four*, i. e. a few, कतिपय is the word in the original Sanskrit text *Vaidya panchavati* (Prose), P. 175 (Edition by Mr. Jagajivana Dayāśadās Modī) च्यार, च्यारि, *Mādhavānala Kāma Kandaś dogdhaka prabandha*, (V. S. 1574), V, 184 (च्यार=*four*), *Idyāvilāsa charitra* by Nyāya Sundara, V. S. 1516, (*Vide* Dr. Tessitori's "Notes", Selected Specimens, P. 100), च्यार st. 18, 19 *Idyāvilāsa charitra* by Hīrānanda Suri, St. 5 (V. S. 1485) च्यारि, cited in Dr. Tessitori's 'Notes'

This by the way Amongst other vernaculars, Panjabi has something like the Prākṛit sound in certain instances and Banglā also possesses it (Beames, Vol I, pp. 71, 72). Māravādī accentuates the sibilant to such an extreme that the dental palatal च is heard almost as स, चयमुजरा मंदर would be heard as सयमुजरा मंदर, चमना राजाजी is heard as समना राजाजी and so forth Hindi¹¹² and Sindhi stand unaffected and retain the pure Sanskrit sound. Now, what could be the source of this strange sound in so many Indian languages, when the parent tongue, Sanskrit, never had it? We must turn to the frontier of India at two extreme points. Kashmiri has a peculiar sound *ts* as in *ts* = a thief evidently from चोर, the च having been evolved into this strange sound¹¹³ Sir George Grierson in his preface to his Manual of the Kashmiri language, tells us that some ancient documents recently discovered in Central Asia are written in languages not yet interpreted and that the also to these languages may possibly be found in those "Pisācha" tongues of which Kāshmiri is the only example possessing a literature. The Dhutiss some of whom I heard at Darjiling over a couple of years ago (1913 A D) were heard to pronounce च as *ts* in a very accentuated form. At the Eastern, or rather South Eastern boundary of India, Burmese has *saṇḍā* (sandā) for चंद्र, चन्द्र, "the moon" The word "*saṇḍā*" used by Edwin Arnold in his "Light of Asia" (Page 172, Book VI) is from *Cha'raṭṭa* (चर्याट), - Pali चर्या meaning "a world, a sphere, of a peculiar description," and it seems the Sinhalese form

P 100 to be contrasted with चयय in the former (also चयय in st 7 of the latter), which is reflected in the present day Gujarātī which has the Sanskrit sound in चर, but Prākṛit sound in चय

112 It is a curious phenomenon that Hindi and Sindhi should have resisted this foreign influence. Could it be because they both were influenced though at a late period, by Persian which does not possess this sibilant sound?

113 See Sir George Grierson's Manual of the Kashmiri language, Vol I P 14 para 2. He states there - The letter, as its form indicates, is pronounced like the English *ts* in "Catsup"

of this word is "sālala" (See Professor Childer's Pali Dictionary - चक्रवाट).¹¹⁴

114 That the Greeks turned the name *Chandragupta* into *Sandra Kottos* would point to the sibilant sound of च in the Pālī or Prākṛit of the period. This fact furnishes additional evidence of great significance. Equally significant is the change of च in चन्दन (Skr) to स in *sandal* (Persian). It points to the Prākṛit medium (चन्दन) and the sibilant sound of च in Prākṛit which gave the *s* to the Persian word.

I am tempted to suggest a conjectural theory which would take this dento palatal sound even further beyond the times of Chandragupta. This is based on a possible connection between the words *sand* and ऋ-सू (=the sacred text of the Vedas). If such a connection existed, the change of ऋ to *s* could only be accounted for by the dento palatal sound of ऋ passing into स and then into *s* (unless it be that the pure palatal ऋ passed into ञ, palatal, and then ञ into स dental). But on consulting an Avastā scholar I find that it is customary to derive *sand* from *śānti śānti* (=commentary) from *śānti* = to know (*śānti* being a commentary of a commentary, the earlier word being *śānti*) that Skṛ ऋ would be रच in Avastā (e.g. ऋ Skṛ is रच Av) and that this view has the support of Professor Haug. I then looked up Max Müller's *Science of Language*, and in Vol I, P 237, n 36 found the same view accepted by him (viz that *sand* is a corruption of *śānti* = knowledge Skṛ ऋति = śānti Av) I find, however, that he (M. Müller) originally held that *sand* was the same as Skṛ ऋदसू, and while stating to the note in question that this view of his was no longer tenable, he adds the following forcible reservation 'unless we take the etymology of *sand* = *śānti* knowledge, as an after thought and as a learned explanation of a word the original meaning of which had been lost.

I am very much inclined to accept this last view, especially as Max Müller evidently suggests this reason for clinging to his old view, in a different manner though he does so.

Leaving the above arguments aside, there is another fact which carries the dento palatal sound to pre Vedic or Avastā Vedic times. It is the sound *ś* (श्) in Avastā occasionally taking the place of च (ch) of Skṛ, as in *śānti* (Av) for चत् (Skr). If there are opposite instances also, it is possible that in pre-Vedic Skṛ च was pronounced as pure palatal in some words and as dento palatal in others. (I need not add that च can correspond to the dento palatal sound of च only and not to the pure palatal च.)

Taking all these scattered traces together, may it not be conjectured that the अर्धताल्ल्य sound of the palatals may owe its origin to Mongol influence through Central Asia and adjoining countries? Mr Beames notes that Tibetan on the one side and Telugu among the Dravidians on the other retain this sibilant sound of the palatals and infers that Marathi, from its juxta position in Telugu and other non Aryan forms of speech, might naturally be expected to have undergone somewhat of their influence, and this pronunciation of the palatals is probably an instance in point' (Vol I P 72) I may remark here that mere geographical neighbourhood would not necessarily exert such an influence on language. It requires actual intercourse between neighbouring peoples or even of distant immigrants and indigenous people that can furnish suitable ground for such influence. That Maharashtra and the Dravidian countries came into such mutual intercourse is well known and this may be set down as a cause of the sibilant sound of the palatals in Marathi. Understanding Mr Beames observation in this light what he has done in connecting the Southern vernacular with its Dravidian neighbour may be done, with equal permissibility, with regard to the Northern vernaculars by ascribing this sound in them to Mongol influence from the North. I have alluded in my second Lecture to the theory, identifying the Guvjars with the Khazars and their connection with the White Huns (*Vide* page 38 *supra*). The origin of the Khazars themselves is still disputed. But they were no doubt an indigenous people of the Caucasus their official titles were those in use among the Tartar nations of that age, *Hans, Bulgarians, Turks, or Mongols*. There is linguistic relation between the Khazar and Bulgarian languages and the Modern Magyar is traced back to a speech current in a tract under Khazar kingdom in the ninth century. The Khazars were at one time subject to the Huns. There were two strains among the Khazars the Khazars and Kara (black) Khazars the former were fair-skinned and black haired and of remarkable beauty and

stature, and their women were specially famous for their beauty. The latter were short, dark and ugly; they were the Ugrian nomads of the Steppe, akin to the Huns.¹¹⁵ The Huns, as described by Gibbon, were distinguished by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head, and they were almost destitute of beard.¹¹⁶ This description, although it is of the section which went towards the valley of the Volga and not of the one that settled in the valley of the Oxus, and was perhaps different in race, may well be taken as common to both. The type is distinctly Mongolian, as will be at once seen.

The conclusion that may fairly be drawn from all this is that the sibilant sound of the palatals in Gujarātī most probably owed its origin to Mongol influence having affected the Gujjaras long before they came into India, and this influence must have been implanted by them into the language in use in the country which came into their power. (I base this theory on the presumption that this sound, heard at present in the mouths of tribes of Mongol origin like the Bhātīās, must be traceable back into ancient Mongol phonology).

There is only one question which remains a particular puzzle yet. It is the isolated sphere in which the *गदतालव्य* sound of the palatal is retained in all cases,—the *अर्धतालव्य* sound is non-existent altogether—in one particular Gujarātī speaking area;—I mean the Surat and Broach Districts.

How is it that only these two districts have till now retained the pure Sanskrit sound in all cases? What prevented the foreign influence from reaching there? I am unable to answer this question, and must leave it for others to handle.

However, a powerful side light is thrown on this question by Max Müller's analysis of the palatal sound in his *Science of*

115. Encyclopædia Britannica, XIV, 59 b and c (Ninth Edition).

116. Gibbon, CH. XXVI, as quoted in Vincent Smith's "Early History of India," P. 299. (Second Edition).

Language, Vol. II, pp. 155-157. He alludes to the view of some physiologists, and among them of Brückn, that *ch* in English and Italian consists of two letters, *t* followed by *sh* and should not be classed as a simple letter; he accepts this view partially but regards the *ch* sound as made up of half *t* and half *sh*; but half *t* and half *sh* give only one whole consonant. Max Müller then goes on: "Few Sanskrit scholars acquainted with the *Pratishākhya*, works describing the formation of letters, would venture to speak dogmatically on the exact pronunciation of the so-called palatal letters at any definite period in the history of ancient Sanskrit." He then draws attention to the peculiar sound of *ḷ* (in English) in words like *kind*, *card*, *cube*, *cow*, sounding almost like *kyind*, *cyard*, *cyube*, *cyow*, thus marking a transition from *ḷ* into *ky*, and finally into English *Ch*,—a change analogous to that of *t* into *ch* as in *natura*, *nature*, or of *d* into *j*, as in *soldier* pronounced as *soljer*, *diurnale* changed to *journal*.

[This points to the phonetic process which changes चयगे to चयगे letters when followed by ङ or ण or य, noted in the speech of villagers.]

Max Müller finally states:

"We must admit in Sanskrit and in other languages, a class of palatals, sometimes modifications of gutturals, sometimes of dentals, varying no doubt in pronunciation, not only at different periods in the history of the same language, but also in different localities, yet sufficiently distinct to claim a place for themselves, though a secondary one, between gutturals and dentals, and embracing, as we shall see, the same number of subdivisions as gutturals, dentals and labials."

I have called the अयगत्य sound of च, छ, ज, झ, a Prakrit

Sir George Grierson's valuable discussion on the sound of the Prakrit Palatals summarized, appreciated and commented upon.

sound. The history of this sound in Prakrit has been ably gone into by Sir George Grierson in an article of his which came to my notice long after I wrote this discussion. The article may be summarized here with profit as it affords unexpected support to my views, of

course independently and anticipatorily, and throws some suggestive side-light on the question. For a full view of the article I must refer the student to the J.R.A. 1918 A.D., pp. 391, f. "The Pronunciation of Prākṛit Palatals." I give here a brief summary with my remarks on certain points:—

The broad conclusions arrived at by Sir George Grierson are

(A) In Standard Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit and in Śaurasēnī palatals were probably pronounced as *dento-palatals* (as in Modern Marāṭhī).

(B) In Māgadhī they were pronounced clearly as true palatals.

(C) This distinction has persisted to the present day, except that in the North of the Śaurasēnī tract the pronunciation of the closely related Māgadhī and of Śaurasēnī Pāṣāṇikī has caused the pronunciation of Śaurasēnī and of Mahārāṣṭrī.

(D) Dr. Harnle (Gaudian Grammar, 7 ff.) shows that palatals of the Eastern Indo-Aryan vernaculars are not distinctly and truly palatal than those of the West and South, a fact which "seems to have been noticed already by the Prākṛit grammarians."

The facts, data and arguments on which and by which he holds these conclusions are as under:—

(a) Varsrochi (XI, 5) (for Māgadhī) says:—

चरगन्ध स्पष्टता तथोच्चारणः ।

Bhāmaha's comment on this is:—

चरगन्धस्य यथा स्पष्टता तथोच्चारणो भवति ।

Lassen (P. 179) suggests:—read अस्पष्टता for स्पष्टता. Cowell (P. 179) suggests अस्पृष्टता ("with a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth.")

[I should say स्पृष्टता in view of the अस्पृष्ट or इवस्पृष्ट in Standard Prākṛit. However, the *citra* is an unsolved riddle so far as its exact sense is concerned.]

- (b) 'Kramadīśvara (Lassen, 393) has यपचरगंयुक्ता मनायुच्चार्याः। which Sir George translates thus:—"y, p, and the चरगं when forming part of a compound consonant are lightly pronounced."

Now, this interpretation is difficult to accept. यपचरगंयुक्ता is a *śarīṛśa* and an adjective qualifying some noun, not here mentioned but mentioned in a foregoing *sūtra* or *sūtras*, and taken here by *anuvṛtti*. The preceding two *sūtras* given by Lassen (p. 393) as parts of extracts from the *Saṅkṣiptasāra* of Kramadīśvara are:—

मागध्यां पतोः यः ॥ १ ॥

रो षः ॥ २ ॥

then यपचरगंयुक्ता मनायुच्चार्याः ॥ ३ ॥

(A Bangālī edition, printed in Bangālī character, has: पटवर्गयुक्ता मनायुच्चार्याः (Aṣṭabrahma and other dialects Chapter; *sūtra* 88). This, if correct, would altogether exclude the *Saṅkṣipta-Sāra* quotation from our inquiry, as it has nothing to do with चरगं.).

Thus, it is possible that प, स, and र are intended as the *anuvṛtti* विशेष्य of यपचरगंयुक्ता: (or पटवर्गयुक्ता: whatever the correct text be), though पतोः and रो (रः) are in the genitive case and here as *anuvṛtti* terms they would be required to be in the nominative case. All the same this interpretation would be less faulty than taking यपचरगं as the विशेष्य of युक्ताः. The flaw in my interpretation due to change of the case (genitive to nominative) can be removed by taking स and र as the *anuvṛtti* terms and विशेष्य of यपचरगंयुक्ता: though युक्ता would be required in that case, perhaps. Yet, after all, the whole thing is involved in a cloud of doubt.

Moreover, even if Sir George's interpretation were correct, it would not affect the point about the sound of चरगं when non-conjoined; unless the reading be चरगोः but, in that case, how about युक्ताः? If his rendering is incorrect, the मनायुच्चारण would be of the letters conjoined with the यपचरगं, not of the यपचरगं. [However, we are groping in the dark for want of an uncorrupted text.]

Sir George infers:—

(a) Whatever the meaning of these *śāstras* (i. e. Vararuchi's and Kramadīvara's) it is clear that the चर्म letters were not pronounced in Māgadhi as in the Standard Prakrit (i. e. Śāhārāshīrī). (I should exclude Kramadīvara's text just now as hopeless).

The palatals pronounced differently in Māgadhi and the Standard Prakrit—Māhārāshīrī.

(b) Hēmachandra, Trivikrama, and Bīnarāja give us no help;

(c) Mārkaṇḍeya (See the Vīṛgāpattam edition) tells us—

(1) चर्मोत्पत्तिर्यः स्यात् (xlii. 21) e. g. चिर्त्त। चिर्त्त।

(and Sir George adds (यजिह्व्या) of his own conjecture; Mārkaṇḍeya does not give it);

(2) Again xlii. 32—चिर्त्तय तु चिर्त्तः

(i. e. चिर्त्त becomes चिर्त्त) and this in Śākāśī becomes चिर्त्त; (चिर्त्तो चिर्त्तय इत्येते॥ xlii. 3, चिर्त्तदि).

(3) Taking us to the North-West he (Mārkaṇḍeya) tells us (xviii. 2) that in Vṛācha's Apabhraṃśa (spoken in Sindh)—

चर्मोत्पत्तिर्यो भवेत्। चर्त्त। चर्त्त।

(4) Finally (xx. 4) in Śāraseni-Pāṣāṇīkī (a variety of the Kākaya-Pāṣāṇīkī of the extreme North-West) चर्मोत्पत्तिर्यः। चर्त्त।

(This language has only च, छ, and ञ, and not ज and झ). (चर्त्त=चर्त्त, nomin. ends in य as in Māgadhi). (Sir George presumes that Śāraseni-Pāṣāṇīkī means the Pāṣāṇī spoken by the Piśāchas of Śāraseni, i. e. of the present N. E. Rajputānā.)

Sir George infers from all this:—

(क) that Mārkaṇḍeya considered that besides the standard Prikṛit pronunciation of the palatals, these

According to Mārkaṇḍeya the pure palatal sound prevailed in certain dialects besides Māgadhi

letters had another sound, not only in Māgadhi but also in a dialect of the North-West and in another dialect of the midland closely connected with it. This sound he

represented by prefixing य to the च, छ, ज, झ, ञ.

(३) that he thus agreed with Vararuchi and Kramadīvara in the main point that in Prākṛit the palatals had two sets of sounds, some dialects employing one and others the other.

[I would observe that Vararuchi's *sūtra*, and specially Kramadīvara's *sūtra* require a definitely doubt-free interpretation before we can arrive at any positive conclusion.]

(d) What was the nature of these two sounds? (Sir George enters upon an inquiry into this). Scholars

Nature of the two sounds inquired into.

are not all agreed as to the oldest sound of the palatals in India. (Pischel § 217

refers to the difficulties in the true pronunciation of the Prākṛit palatal mutes). Now, taking Mārkaṇḍeya's notation, the standard palatals—अएए—were—च, छ, ज, झ, while the Māgadhi palatals—एए—were—च, छ, ज, झ, च, छ, ज, झ.

Vararuchi's *sūtra* furnishes the inference that in the Standard Prākṛit the sound was not एए, was अएए; for he differentiates from it the Māgadhi sound as एए. What is the exact meaning of एए? To answer this Sir George draws upon the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, and gives the following survey:—

(1) Bangālī and Assamese:—These extreme Eastern vernaculars must be kept aside, as they have developed under special local conditions.

(2) Birār, then westward of it, over the Gangetic Valley, and the Punjab, i. e. over the Māgadhi and Ardha-Māgadhi areas, and over the Northern part of Sauraseni areas:—the sound is the ordinary one, slightly more dental than the *ch* in *church* and the *j* in *judge*.

[Why more dental than that in 'church' and 'judge'—I would ask? The Sanskrit sound is just the same as in 'church' and 'judge'. Perhaps Englishmen emphasize these sounds in English.]

(3) In Rajputānā, i. e. the southern part of the Sauraseni area,—and in Gujarātī (the language whereof is closely connected with Rājasthānī)—च and छ are commonly pronounced as च e. g.

Māravāḍī—सपी (for चपी) = a mill-stone; सास for छाउ (=butter-milk);

Gujarātī:—

ऊँसो for ऊँचो (=high)

पूछ्यो for पूछ्यो (=asked);

In North Gojarāt જ and ષ are pronounced as z, e. g. રૂઢ for જઠ (= a tree).

This s and this z are often pronounced as ts and dz respectively, as in the word *tsarotar* for *carotar*, the name of the tract in which this sound prevails.

[Now, I must point out that ऊँसो is never used in Gujarātī, it is always ऊँचो; सरोतर is also a wrong representation, it is चरोतर always; पूछ्यो has the Sanskrit छ because of the य. Even villagers do not say ऊँसो but ऊँचो (च being pronounced as a dental palatal). Even in Māravāḍī the s-like sound is not quite s, though nearer to it than in Gujarātī and likely to be confounded with s. In short Sir George has relied on misleading information as regards Gujarāt certainly.]

- (4) In Marāṭhī (excepting borrowed words, including *tatsama* and a few other special cases), च is pronounced ts, छ as s; ज and ष as dz; except before palatal vowels, in which case they are pronounced as in the Gangetic valley. The s sound of छ is said by Joshi (Marāṭhī Grammar P. 115) to be merely a substitute for ts which was found difficult to pronounce.

[I have already stated that Gojarātī and Marāṭhī have the same principles governing the Prākṛit and Sanskrit sounds of च, छ, ज, ष. I do not see why Gujarātī should be cut off from this. As regards ज, it is sounded as ज in Marāṭhī and ष as ष (dz); dz is not a correct symbol for ज, Prākṛit sound. छ Prākṛit-sounding, does not exist in Marāṭhī, it always turns into स phonetically, e. g. सोढणे (G. छोढणे, H. छोढना). I do not understand Mr. Joshi's statement quoted by Sir George].

(5) Sindhī—has the Gangetic valley sound usually.

(6) Kāshmirī has—च. छ. ज. ष (no स. because it has no

sonant aspirate). These have two sounds:—च, छ, ज, झ; and ts, tsh, z, ś.

The net result of this survey, as given by Sir George, is that in Marāṭhī (unless affected by a neighbouring palatal vowel) च, छ, ज, झ are pronounced not as *palatals*, but as *dento-palatals*. This latter sound persists, with slight variations as we go North through Gujarāt and Rajaputānā, till we reach the Gangetic valley where we meet another set of palatals nearing the English *ch* and *j*, but nevertheless more dental. Now, Marāṭhī is the direct descendant of Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit and therefore it is at least probable that the palatals in the Mahārāṣṭrī or Standard Prākṛit were also pronounced *dento-palatals*.

[I may observe here that the geographical tracing of the sound is a little inaccurate. Really, the *dento-palatal* nature is strong in Marāṭhī, slightly reduced in Gujarātī, again emphatically of increased strength in Māravāṭī, then it is lost in the Gangetic valley, and again prominent in Kāshmīrī. The survey of the scope of this sound which I have already given and the tracing of the sound to Mongolic influence hits the mark better.]

(c) The *dento-palatal* nature is borne out by the Greek transcription of Indian words:—and to show

*Dento-palatal nature
brought out by the Greek
transcriptions of* चन्द्रगुप्त—Sandrékuptos¹¹⁷
Indian words. पयास—Pāsālos or Parālas

117. The generally known name is *Sandrokottos*. But *kuptos* or *lyptos* is also seen. Weber has it. Max Müller also gives the alternatives *Sandracottus*, and *Sandrocyptes* (Vide his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, P. 141, last para, Pānini Office edition). In his quotation there from Justin the name is *Sandracottus*. The *Encyclopædia of Names in the Century Dictionary* gives under *Chandragupta* the two variants, *Sandrokottos* and *Sandroluptos* as the names given by Greek historians of Alexander, and identified by Sir William Jones with *Chandragupta*. A friend suggests that the Greeks took *kuptos* (*kyptos*) from the Sanskrit—*gupta*, and *kottos* from its Prākṛit evolutes—*gutta*. The suggestion is really attractive.

चन्दन—*izāndanon*चटन—*Tiastānes*उज्जयिनी—*Ózēne*यमुना } *Diamojne*
जमुना }

Here we have two sets:—

- (1) pure palatal set—where च is represented by *T*; and ज by *dt*.
- (2) the dento-palatal set wherein च is a, *ss*, *z*, or *tz* and ज is represented by *z*.

[I have already noted in the foregoing portion the significance of *Sandracottos* and *sandal*; but that being before I came across Sir George's valuable article, the list was necessarily incomplete.

A great doubt arises here: Chandragupta belonged to Magadha. If Māgadhi had the pure palatal, how did his name get converted into *Sandra*? The doubt is accentuated by the fact that the Greeks transcribed both the sounds, pure and dento-palatal.]

(1) In Kāshmiri the modern system of spelling, invented by Išvara Kania towards the end of the last century, shows the dento-palatals by diacritical dots under the letters showing the true palatals thus:—

च, छ, ज, true palatals.

च़, छ़, ज़, dento-palatals.

But before his time writers either put no distinctive marks, or else suffixed a *य* to the palatals to indicate pure palatals, thus:—
चय, छय, जय, यय.

This, says Sir George, agrees remarkably with Mārkaṇḍeya's symbols, only he prefixes the *य* whereas Kāshmiri suffixes it. But, says he, this prefixed *य* can have been nothing more than a diacritical mark to indicate the true palatal sound, for it is impossible to imagine the *literatum* pronunciation of the compound letter चय when initial as it often was.

[I may observe here:—

(a) The method of onfixing a ए to the palatal in order to mark the pure palatal sounds is not confined to Kāshmiri; as pointed out in my foregoing discussion, it was very common in old Gujarāṭī writing.

(b) एन is really an incomprehensible conjunct and is perhaps coined by Sir George both as regards Mārkaṇḍeya's work and as regards Kāshmiri phonography, under a mere census of consistency and in disregard of the fact that the rules are to be applied subject to the all prevailing laws of possibility.

(c) The diacritical significance of ए prefixed to the palatals by Mārkaṇḍeya is an original discovery by Sir George, which is really of great value. It at once explains the apparent absurdity of the compound symbol रच, रज etc.. At the same time it throws a flood of light on the exact sound of the Prākṛit palatals for which the whole credit belongs to Sir George Grierson. His statement that रच when initial is impossible of literal pronunciation, should be extended to cases where the compound is uninitial even, for even in that position a literal pronunciation of रच and the like would be a phonal impossibility. But a query may just be suggested: Mārkaṇḍeya, in xiii, ३-त्रिण्णोच्चिनाहृत्ये- by the sandhi (एते for एः) would appear to recognize the ए in चिच as a substantial letter. Could he then have meant the ए as a mere diacritical symbol? An answer may be suggested tentatively: The ए was surely intended as a mere diacritical mark, and yet the ostensible form of ए demanded the sandhi change of a risarga to उ (i. e. अः to ओः).]

I have virtually transcribed Sir George's article succinctly with my remarks as occasion required, because although my treatment of the palatals was written before I came across his article, the credit that belongs to him as an exponent of another part of the same question and from a different standpoint, yet reaching the same goal as myself, must be fully recognised here.

UTSARGA III

The initial ण (cerebral), if any, and the non-initial double

The change of ण ण in Prākṛit, अवान्तर forms and Dēśya (initial) and ण (non-initial) to न. words, is changed to न (dental) in Gujarātī.

Examples:—

| Sanskṛit | Prak. Apahbr. or Dēśya. | Gujarātī. |
|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| पर्णकं = | पण्णउं | पाउं |
| पण | पणु | पान |
| कर्णः | कणु | कान |
| सुवर्णकं | सुवण्णउं—सुण्णउं | सउं |
| कृष्णः | कण्डु—कहणु | कहान |
| भूषणकं | भूण्डु— हूण्णउं } न्हणउं | न्हान |
| वर्णः | वणु | वान (= color complexion) |
| संज्ञा | सण्णा | सान |
| अरण्यं | रणु | रान |
| जीर्णकं | जुण्णउं | जउं |
| ऊर्णा | उण्णा | ऊन |
| विजृप्तिः | विण्णत्ती | विनेति—(ती) |
| | (Dēśya) णक | नाक |
| | („) णिदणी | नीदणी |
| | („) णत्पा | नात्प |
| | („) णिरिअं | नरुं |

Exceptions:—

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|------|
| सटावण्यकं | सटावण्णउं | सटउं |
|-----------|-----------|------|

The retention of the ण here may be explained by a possible intermediate form wherein ण्ण is simplified into a simple ण possibly in consequence of the length of टा and the numerousness of syllables in the word.

आसा
अरण्य

अण्णा
रण्य

आण
रण

This phonetic change (of ण to न) is prevalent in Marāṭhī

The change to न and Gujarātī equally. Hindi follows the rule of changing every ण to न, of every ण.

and ण is a letter practically unknown to the language. Under a mistaken notion that Gujarātī is an offshoot of Hindi Rao Bahadur O. V. Vaidya has made the unfounded assertion¹¹⁹ that Gujarātī also changes the plain ण to न i. e. it has, for instance, पानी instead of पाणी. A mere glance at any Gujarātī book would have convinced him that his statement was not correct.

[Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar has enunciated the *utsarga* about this change of ण to न clearly at pp. 185-186 of his Lectures. I need not reproduce it here as there is no essential difference between his enunciation and mine except that I have included the initial ण of Prākṛit. I have borrowed a few instances from him.]

UTSARGA IX.

The ण of Prākṛit derived from the Sanskrit न (uninitial)

Reversion of ण to न in certain cases. generally remains as ण in Gujarātī, but in the case of certain words it reverts to the original Sanskrit न.

Examples —

| Skr. | Apabhr. or Prākṛ. | G. |
|-------|-------------------|--------------------|
| स्तनः | पय | धान ¹²⁰ |
| भगिनी | बहिणी | बहिन |

118. जैन. *S. H. VIII-10-506*. पेशाच्या णकारस्य नो भवति॥ पुनगन-युधो। पुनेन॥

119. “उत्तर हिन्दुस्थानांत ण चे प्राक्क कमी साडे आहे असे दिसते. साधारण हिंदीत इत्थी पाणी असे रूप नमुन पाणी असे आहे, व तेच रूप पुनरागत हो आहे-पान दिसत आहे. पुनरागत हो हिंदीची पोटवाला आहे, त्यात ही न व बहुधा जाल आहे.”

(*Marāṭhī bhāṣādeśa Itihāsa*, a paper read by Rao Bahadur O. V. Vaidya before the Maharashtra *Sāhitya Sammelana* at Baroda in 1909 A. D. Report of Transactions, P. 8 of paper No. 7. See Appendix in the Report.)

120. If at any stage स्तन was पय in Prākṛit under the principle

| | | |
|--------|--------------------|--|
| सनयः | सणस | सन |
| नापि | णवि | नव |
| नयनं | नयणु | नन ¹²¹ |
| स्थानं | थाणु | थान (= a horse's place in a stable). |
| वनचरकं | वणचरु | वनेहं ¹²² |
| यौवनं | जोवणु | जोवन |
| मनः | मणु ¹²³ | मन |
| विनयकः | विणभउ | वनो (See <i>supra</i> p. 226, n. 81, for quotation). |

(Note:—The Gujarātī compound भटमनसाह from भटो+माणस+आह (abstract termination) points to the working of this process even in the further stage of internal changes in the Gujarātī language itself.)

This change of ण to न takes place even when in the original Skr. there is e ण e. g.

मदण-मदणु-वयणु-धन (=Intoxication)

. UTSARGA X.

Intervocalic ल
changed to ळ.

The change of ल to ळ
An intervocalic¹²⁴ ल is changed to ळ.

underlying *Si. Hē. VIII-ii-98-99*, then this would cease to be an example under this *utsarga*, and would come under *utsarga VIII* just gone by. It would at the same time explain the lengthening of the अ before the न on its reduction to a single न and do away with its inclusion in another *utsarga* about the lengthening of internal vowels without any change in other parts of the word.

121. नन may have been adopted from Hindi. For नन is also a Gujarātī word.

122. वनेहं in the sense of a "wild animal." But we have वणियर also from वनचर in the sense of "a civet-cat"; when the ण is retained.

123. मिलिभ्रं मणैण मणं (*Kumdrapāla-charita*, iv.40.)

124. The term "intervocalic" is a very happy word used by European scholars to express the condition laid down in the *Prāli-*

Examples:—

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. or Dīkṣa | Gujarātī |
|----------|------------------------|----------|
| कळ | कळ | कळ |
| जळ | जळ | जळ |
| कळा | कळा | कळ |
| पीतक-कं | पीभळं | पीळं |
| दयाळकः | साळउ | साळो |
| करली | केली | केळ |
| दरिद्र | इळरी | इळर |
| ” | direct | इळदर |
| अन्धक-कः | अंधळउ | अंधळो |
| गुह्यी | गळोई | गळो |
| सोडस | सोळद | सोळ |
| शीतळकं | सीभळं | शीळं |
| नाडिकेरी | नाडिपरी | नाडियेरी |
| अतसी | अळसी | अळशी |
| Dīkṣa | डिनाली | डिनाळ |

Adhhyas regarding the rule इदौऋहोकेवान् the condition is स्वमध्ये समानपदे i. e. in the same word and between two vowels, this is in *Kāṭhya Prāśādhya*; the *Rik-Prāśādhya* of Śaunaka also says:—

इयोश्चास्य स्वयोर्मध्यमेव सपपने सङ्कारो ऋकारः ॥

ऋकारतामेति सपप चास्य ऋकारः सङ्गमना संप्रयुक्तः ।

(Pāṇini I-21, 22).

Similarly the *Śukla-Yajuh-Prāśādhya* (144) and its gloss. This same condition is applicable to all changes of medial consonants in Prākṛit, and Hémachandra has a cumbersome variation for it in the conditions (1) स्वपद i. e. स्वपदपरस्य (i. e. the consonant should be preceded by a vowel) and (2) अनादौऋतुत्तरस्य (i. e. the consonant should be un-initial and non-conjunct.) (VIII-1-176). Vararuchi dispenses with the superfluous part स्वपद and says अयुक्तस्वानादौ (ii-1). Mārkanḍeya (ii-1) has the same slightly varied, अयुक्तेऽनादौ ॥

| | | |
|------|---------------|---|
| (,,) | कंदाली | कंदाळी (name of a wild plant or tree).—("कंदाळी ने धरि" <i>Nalākhyāna</i> , Prēmānand). |
| (,,) | होलो (-लउ) | होळो |
| (,,) | हाली | हाळी |
| (,,) | आळोट्ट | आळोटे (छे) (=rolls).' |
| (,,) | कंटोलं (-लउं) | कंटोळं (=कंकोडुं; a kind of vegetable) (कंटोळु is a word used in the Surat district). |
| (,,) | मिहाळ | वटाळ |
| (,,) | शोलिआ | शोळी |

&ca. &ca.

Exceptions:—

| | | |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| मीलकं | मीलउं | लीलुं |
| तिळ: | तिळ | तळ |
| तिलकः (फं) | तिळउं | टीलुं |
| पीडयति | पीलेइ | पीले (छे) |
| कीलकः | कीलउ | खीलो |
| कोकिला | कोइला | कायल |
| कलकं | कलउं | काहुं ¹²⁵ |
| मलिनकं | मलउं | मलुं |
| (<i>dīṣya</i>) | कोइलो (-लउ) | कायलो (=charcoal) |

In all these instances the ल remains unchanged to ळ.

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| आदिकं | अलउं | आलुं (=green; raw) |
| (<i>dīṣya</i>) | दंडुलइ ¹²⁶ | दंडोळे (छे) |

125. If कल was कल्ल at any stage in Prakṛit under the principle underlying *S. H.* VIII-u-98, 99, then this instance will have to be excluded. It would also explain the lengthened अ of क under the general principle of संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व.

126. *S. H.* VIII, iv, 83 has दंडोलइ as also हुंदुलइ, but the sense is गवेय i. e. to search (Guj हुंदु, Hindi हुँदना); whereas दंडोळु means "to shake the body (as that of a sleeping man, to wake him up).

In these words the *स्*, although a conjunct, is changed to *ळ*.

[Note—In Gujarātī itself, the *ळ* becomes *ल* again in rare cases, as where the neighborhood of a *सू* (सू) like *ण* makes the *ळ* difficult to pronounce, e. g. *वसु*, but *वलण*.]

This *utsarga* is inherently akin to the Prākṛit rule नोणः

and the reason is not far to seek. The *Connection between* *sthānas* and *prayatnas* of न end ल end ण end नोणः and लोळः *ळ* are essentially indented or kindred.

(In fact this *utsarga* is but a branch of the general *ñe* whereby dentals are changed to cerebrals; I have taken this apart for special reasons, one of which is the wide extent and historical peculiarity of this change of *ल* to *ळ*). Hémachandre (VIII-iv-307) has:—लोळः, so also Trivikrama, III-ii-48, but both these restrict the change to the Pāṣāṇī dialect. This cerebral *ळ* existed in the Vedic period, but to a very limited extent; for *द* and *ड*, when intervocalic were pronounced as *ळ* and *ळड*, and this again was according to the view of some *Āchāryas* only. *दृढीकृतं द्रव्येनैषाम्* and the gloss *स्वरमप्ये समानपदे* in the *Kāṭiya Prāṭisiddhīya* show this).¹²⁷

127. *ण* is commonly classed as *सू* along with *द*, *ड*, *ढ* and *ढ* (end क, र and ण). But, I believe, just as *द*, *ड* have two sounds, *सू* and *सू*, so *ण* has a fuller sound, *सू*, also. *र* is classed as *दन्तमूलीय* (along with the *सू*) in *Āṭ-Prāṭisiddhīya* (Paṭala I-20), and in the same place it gives another view that *र*, according to some *Āchāryas*, is *वर्ण*, *र* (कर्णमेक); *वर्ण*, the *रण*, being described as *दन्तमूलादुपरिष्ठानुच्छेदः प्रेरकः*. Similarly *ण* may be regarded as *सू*, fuller than mere *सू* letters.

128. The *Āṭ-Prāṭisiddhīya* of Śaunaka (Paṭala I-10, 11, Chokhambha series, Denares) speaks of *द-र* as evolutes of such *द-ड*; but Max Müller's edition of the same has *द-र* at the same place. (Paṭala I-21, 22). Evidently *द-र* is a mislection.

शिवामूर्तं तातु चाचार्यं भाह रयानं दकारय तु वेदमित्रः ।

द्वयोधारय स्वरोर्मध्यमेव सम्पद्यते उ द्वाये अकारः ॥

द्वयकारतामेति स दर वारय दकारः सम्पद्यते संप्रयुक्तः ।

This is evidently the fuller *द*, pronounced by rolling up the tongue up to the root of the tongue, and hence the contact with the palate.

In Pāli 𑖅 existed as a distinct evolute of 𑖆, when intervocalic; (e. g. ता𑖅न for ता𑖆न, पी𑖅न for पी𑖆न, त𑖅क for त𑖆क; See Dr. Bhândārkar's *Lectures*, P. 41.)

It would be interesting to investigate the question how it was that the classical Sanskrit lost the Vedic 𑖅 sound. However

History of the cerebral 𑖅 since Vedic times; a survey of Indian vernaculars as regards this sound; Paisāchi influence traceable. considering that this sound was very limited in the Vedic usage, and was only sectional in a way, there is nothing strange in the fact of classical Sanskrit not possessing that sound, and it would be not quite correct to say that it lost this sound. Another question, however, presents itself here. Did the मूर्धन्यतर sound, 𑖅, in Vedic

usage, even if sectional, arise from contact with persons who spoke the Paisāchi Prākṛit? It is quite possible it should be so, and it may explain why it did not obtain wider acceptance in Vedic phonology which was very jealously guarded against inroads of all barbarous pronunciation. Again, a noticeable fact is that while, on the one hand, in the northern half of India, this मूर्धन्यतर sound (𑖅) prevails in Gujarātī and Māravātī through O. W. Rājasthān,¹²⁹ and in Sindhi its place is taken by 𑖆 which

129 मोंडण भसपति मोंडियो जोषकुलो धर जेण ॥ १३ ॥

दल वादल तापीन दे हिंदू मुसलमोंण । ॥ १७ ॥

होंडा गोंड जादम्भडाला हडाला ।

वले वंस छतीस साथे बडाला ।

गोंडी नालि गोलु चले फोज मज्ज । ॥ १९९ ॥

(Extracts, given by Dr. Tessitori, from a Dingaja Text, at P. 396, of the J. A. S. Beng. Nov. 1914)

Note:—The 𑖅 with a dot below it (𑖅̣) in these extracts marks the मूर्धन्यतर sound (=𑖅).

Narmadāsankar, in his *Narma-Kosa*, P. 596 under 𑖅, the last letter in the Dictionary, remarks:—

“ए अक्षर जूनां गुजराती पुस्तकीमां लयी जूदे लखायलो ज नथी. एण उच्चारमां लयी. जूदे बोलातो हये ज.”

That is, in old Gujarātī Mss. 𑖅 (cerebral) is not to be found distinctively from 𑖆 (dental), but the cerebral sound must have existed. I am inclined to accept this view, because

indicates its existence in a phonetically kindred form assumed on account of the lingual peculiarity of the people, to the Southern half of India, on the other hand, this same sound (ॐ) prevails with equal strength in Marāṭhī, and with greater strength in the Dravidian languages; whereas Hindi retains the dental ॐ unchanged into the ultra-cerebral ॐ.¹³⁰ This phenomenon is similar in character to that of the Prākṛit sound of च, छ, ज, ञ, noticed by me in *Utsarga VII* above. (See Pp. 347-50 supra). We may, then, feel justified in tracing Pārsācī influence in this phenomenon pervading the north and the south, an influence peculiarly non-Aryan, yet indigenously Indian. We are further strengthened in this inference by the presence of this ultra cerebral ॐ in some Bhīl languages. A paper was contributed by Mr. Chhaganlāl Vidyārām Rāvala to the Third Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad (1903 A.D.) on "*The Bhīl Language of the territory of Marāṭhī,*" i. e. Vāliyā and surrounding district to the state of Rāj Pīplī. A glance at this paper shows that this Bhīl language treats the intervocalic ॐ in the same manner as Pāli and the Vedic sectional usage did, i. e. it changes it to ॐ and ॐ is also changed to ॐ (not to ॐ as in Vedic usage), the intervocalic ॐ, on the other hand, is retained unaffected in the Bhīl language, curiously enough.¹³¹

(1) Mārvādī, as we see in the above quoted instances, writes ॐ and only puts a diacritical dot below to indicate the cerebral sound; and (2) it would be strange if this symbol ॐ and the heavy sound should have sprung into existence all of a sudden without a long usage behind it. I say this in spite of the fact that ॐ was restricted to Pārsācī and did not find place in Apabhrāṃśa which is the main source of Gujarātī, for after all, the sound did come in and there is nothing against its having come at an early stage as a Mongol or Dravidian influence.

130. Oriyā also has a similar cerebral ॐ (see Deames, I-244). As regards Bangālī it has no ॐ, and yet Deames (I-P 244, para 1) says that ॐ "is very common in O., B., and O., less in P." the B is obviously a mistake for M, for at P. 123 (Vol I) the table of Alphabets clearly shows a blank under Bangālī against this latter, ॐ.

131. A few instances may be given -भारत (भारते); दण्ड (दण्डे);

The only distinction to be noted is this while Pāli, Vedic and Bhīl language change the ङ to ञ, the Pūñācī, Gujarātī, Māravādī, Marāthī and Dravidian languages change ङ to ञ, the former keep the ङ unchanged, the latter keep the ङ generally unchanged, the resulting ultra cerebral sound, ञ, is the same in all these languages.

UTSARGA XI.

अस्वरितप्रथमश्रुतिलोप—An unaccented initial syllable is dropped

Dropping of unaccented initial syllable

This is a feature shared by Gujarātī with Hindī, Marāthī and several cognate languages

Illustrations will explain the utsarga —

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap or Desya | Guj. |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------|
| अरण्य | 132 { अरण्य रण्य } | रान (also रण) |

कलो (कड़ु), कला (घडो), कोला (काडी), कुले (कूडा), कोला (पोडो), खाला (खाडो), गालो (गाडु), चीमू चीमळीप (चामाचीडिया), छेला (छेडो), जालुले (जालुडी), देना (देड), ताल (ताड), गूळ (गड), दळी (दडी), दातेलो (दातराडु), नोळो (रोडु-लोडु), नालो (नाडु), नुयलो (नुगडु), पळको (भयडकु), बैला (बाढो=पीठ, वासो), बिनाळी (बिलाडी), राखोळा (राखोडी), वाळ (वाडो), चोपळी (चोपडी), पळ (पड-पडु), देळक (देडकु), वळी (वडी), चड (चड-चडु)

(In view of the fact that ल remains unaltered, ताल in the above list may be regarded as derived from ताड, not from ताल.

There are some exceptions—इडो (ईडु), कापडो (कापडु), कांडो (कांडु), कुकट (कूकडो), कडवो (कडवु), गोदडे (गोदडु), गोगेडा (an insect attacking cattle), चाडी (शाडी), चुडा (चूडी), चाड (शाड), टाड (डाल), (this is ड for ल), तावडी (=कलेडु, तावडी), ताळवो (ताळवु), -ल is changed to ञ here, नाडी (नायडी), नाकडा (नाकडी), पीडा (पीडा), पापडया (पापडीओ), फोकडी (=a deer), बामण-इपडी (=साप बामणी), मोकडे (=मडुडी), वळा (-ईलो), -ल to ञ here हाहुडी (सासुडी)

132 S: H: VIII-1-66 notes the लोप of अ in the case of this word (as also of अण्य) optionally. But I include अरण्य here only to mark the influence of accent in dropping the अ (rather the want of accent) —a fact which Hēmachandra naturally could not have cognized though there is a slight indication of an unconscious and syncretical

| | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| अपर्ययः | अपरयं | पर्यु |
| उपविष्टः | उपरिष्ठ | पंठो |
| उपविशति | उपरिश | पंति |
| अरयद् : | 133 अरयद् | रुय्द |
| अस्ति | अच्छद्-अउद्-छद् | छे |
| 111 आत्मन् | अणत्तु | पोत्तु पोत्तु (पोत्ते) |
| अन्यन् | अण्णं—अनद् | |
| | (loc. अन्यग्मिन्—अण्णद् —अनद्) | अने } both in use ने } at present |
| अवलम्बमानदीपः | अवलम्बमानदीपत् | अत्रिामण दीपो, लामण दीपो, रामण दीपो. |

(=The lamp held, hanging down, in the hand, by the mother of a bride-groom in a marriage procession and the like).

admission of the principle in his gloss when he says that only a short अ is lost and therefore अरिप्प would be अरिण only, but the sense of the principle is undeveloped in this statement

133. अरिष्ट occurs in the sense of "a machine-well" (a well with revolving wheel frames) in an inscription at Dāmneri in Rajaputani, dated V. S. 1318. (Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, for the year 1908-9, Assistant Superintendent's Report, Para 45, Page 52).

In V. S. 1531, we find ररिष्ट in Bhatia's *Harī-Līlā*, Kāṇḍ VIII, St. 42.—

जो ररिष्टगो घटमात्र.

The *anuvāda* in ररिष्ट here is soft, as the *chōpa* metrical scheme would indicate.

134. Dr. Tessitori derives पेश from अपेशमा through अप्पद् अप्प-मापेश. (vide his "Notes on O. W. Raj." §§ 92, 25, and 2, (4) § 92 gives the detailed analysis, § 25 notes the change of प to छ. and § 2, (4) notes the apheresis of the initial vowel (It may be noted that Dr. Tessitori, in § 2, (4), does not refer to the cause of the apheresis, viz., the unaccented nature of the initial vowel, nor does he apply the principle

135 उपाध्यायकः

उज्ज्वाभउ

ओशो
(=a potter)

to any vowel other than अ (§ 2, (4)), and उ (§ 5, (3)), much less to the initial syllable with a consonant, though the very term apheresis implies an unaccented syllable, Dr. Tessitori uses it only incidentally in § 92, while in the sections themselves which pertain to this change (§ 2, (4) and 5, (3)) he does not use the term apheresis. Apheresis would be a more accurate term (though not quite accurate), as it refers to an initial syllable apheresis which refers to unaccented syllables and "aphesis" which refers to initial unaccented short vowels, both are jointly covered by our present *utsarga*.

Mr. Kēśavaśāstrī H. Dhruva derives पोत (पोते) from Skr खट, (how? he does not tell us).—See his Dhātuvāṇī's *Kādambarī*, Notes, P. 247, note on P. 67, ll 1-13. It is needless to say that this derivation is hardly satisfactory or warranted by phonetic canons.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar (Lectures, P. 145) derives पोत (=nature) from Skr प्रकृति, through Pr. पदति. He seems to regard तैसादि (Śi. II. 1111: 98) or तैसादि (VIII-11: 99) as आकृतिगण on the strength of the ट्यादि at the end of these *ganās*. However, I should like to see some instances of पदति quoted from actual literature.

Dr. Tessitori's derivation of पोत as well as of आपोष (from आनैवात्म्य), also, is hardly satisfactory. It starts with an imaginary and unlikely phrase and passes through several conjectural stages. I give the derivation as in the text, and trust that it will be regarded as better than any hitherto suggested. पोत in Gujarātī signifies "the texture of a cloth", which can easily be deduced from the literal sense of आत्मत्व "selfness, one's own nature." The expression हेने पोतानું पोत પ્રકાર્યું, clearly shows पोत in the sense of आत्मत्व, "own nature." पोते, primarily the instrument of पोत ("by one's own nature or individuality"), eventually has come to be an indeclinable, meaning "by one's own hand or self," as in *हे पोते खल्लું, હુ પોતે કાવ્યો, (पोते=ज्ञाने, instrumental of वात, ज्ञान).

अप-आप is traceable to आत्म-अत्ता; (vide *supra* *utsarga* V about the change of त to प्). The त् in आत्मत्त्व regularly becomes त in आपत्तु, as the one hand, and, on the other hand, प् (through the त) in अपत्तु (आत्मत्त्व-अत्मत्व), and yields आपोष (आपोषु) found in old Gujarātī literature.

135 Compare M. वरे (a surname) ओश is a surname in Kāśhīrī: la

| | | |
|--------------|---|-----------------|
| अन्यपक्षर | अण्णरक्षमड | } अनग्नि नाम्नि |
| | अन्नरक्षमड | |
| | अनरक्षमड | |
| अभ्युत्पन्नं | direct | भीजु |
| | | भीजु |
| उपरि | direct | पर |
| | | (also उपर) |
| | (cf. M. वारं, वर, through उवरि Pr) | |
| उदधि | (? through Hindi दधि) दधि | |
| | (in G poetry upto fifty years ago, e. g., दधिसुता (= Lakshmi). | |

“दधिसुता वीजणे वायु भरता” (*Suddimā Charitra* V 8 ascribed to Narasinha-Mehta)

| | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| हरप्रती | } हरप्रहं-राखं | } राखी, राखी |
| (name of a river in the Punjab) | | |
| | | (name now in vogue) |

It is not strange to find a potter given an honoured title like उपप्राय. In the Ratnagiri District I have heard वरा at the end of names of carpenters, e. g. भिक्षवरा विर भिक्षवरा (Bhikṣa-varā in Bhikṣa-varā). In N Kanara District carpenters generally combine smithy in their profession, and their workshop is called शाळा (śālā)—a school—and a carpenter-blacksmith is called अक्षयं (akṣhya). These artisans,—carpenters, smiths, potters,—must have been regarded as akṣhyas, i. e. professors, in their respective crafts. Hence a potter may have easily been called an उपप्राय, like a carpenter (as in भिक्षवरा). Probably technical education was valued in old times, and pottery was a fine art, which has only now degenerated into turning out rough pots only, as a rule.

In the United Provinces, in the Western Districts thereof, a certain caste amongst carpenters call themselves ‘Ozi Brahmanas’ (See Rai Bahadur Lāl Baijnāth’s paper at Pp 277-302 of the Report of the Proceedings of the Industrial Conference of 1905-06). This shows how this title of उपप्राय must have stuck to certain artisans, and changed into a caste-name.

(Old Guj.) उहोलहुं¹³⁶

होळहुं

अवश्य

direct

(old G.) वश्य¹³⁷

अणहिलवाड

नेहेरवाला¹³⁸

[उपाध्याय to ओझा may at first sight seem to be the result of the change of उव (in उवज्झाअउ) to ओ, and in that case it would have to be excluded from this list. But a comparison with वझे will show that of उव only the उ is dropped, and while व remained व in M. it became ओ in G.. Hence this word should stand in this list.]

This *utsarga* has prevailed in other languages also. Marāṭhi

has, in addition to some of the above (e. g.

Prevalence of this principle in other Indian vernaculars. रान, रदाट, वडसणें (चैसणें), वझे, भीजणें, वर), the following further instances:—

Skr. उपानद्, Pr. उवाणद्, वाणद् then by metathesis ; वाढनें=sandals, shoes. वाढने

in Marāṭhi means "sandals" only, and no other kind of shoes; and this is evidently the restricted sense of उपानद्, as its constituent parts show, उप+आ+नद् (=to bind), as the straps of sandals bind the foot all round (आ=all round).

Hindi has वट्ठा from एकट्ठे (Pr.); एकस्थक. (Skr.)='come together in one place,' भीतर, direct from आभ्यन्तर or अभ्यन्तर (Skr.); ठा from ठच्छिट्ठे (Skr.); in addition to some of the words in the above list (e. g. रदाट, वच्चा, बैठा-बैठना, अर्नाला, भीगना (the ज in अभ्यन्जन having become ग through the क in the p. p. अभ्यक or under the direct affinity between ज and ग), पर from उपरि).

136 पछी पूर्वाभिमुख दिशी माथु उहोलीनि हाथ पखालीए ॥

(*Vaishnava Āhnikā*, V. S 1640 (year of copy) See *Navals-granthāvalī*, Part II, P. 45).

137. In the same work and at the same page as noted above:
ते माटि प्रातः स्नान वश्य करवुं ॥

138. This is the name given in Ferishtah.

(Report of the Archaeol. Survey of W. India for A. D. 1902-03 p. 44, para 23.)

In Panjābī असंदा (=aurs) from अर्ही (=we)+दा (genitive termination), is also contracted into संदा.

In Gojāratī itself just as अने has become ने also, the first word in ओयारी जाउं (=“May I be (your) sacrifice”) becomes वारी also. This is under the operation of this same principle; ओ, being unaccented, is dropped.

That this process (which is a combination of apherisis and aphesis) began, in a limited way, in the Prākṛit period (as evidenced by अरण्य changed in रण्य and अठाउ changed in ठाऊ optionally under *Si. III. VIII 1-66*) is well-known. I believe we can trace the principle farther back to Sanskrit where we find a rare instance; it is अपूप and पूप both meaning “a kind of cake.” The Gñj. पूरो can be traced either to अपूपः or पूपः through पूमदउ (Ap). *Āpti* (Skr.-Eng. Dictionary) gives for अपूप the derivation:—न पूपते विगीयते इत्यपूपः; none is given for पूप, and in explaining पूप he refers the reader to अपूप. This would indicate अपूप as an earlier word and पूप a later one. पूप may, therefore, be regarded as the result of dropping the unaccented अ in अपूप.

I have, on set purpose, used the word क्षुति instead of म्वर in the expression प्रथमक्षुतिदोषः for I wish to include cases like the following, wherein the first syllable consisting of a consonant plus vowel is dropped through loss or absence of accent:—

| | | | |
|---------|-------|------|------------------|
| (1) | भूय | from | बुभुध्वा, |
| (2) | सुं | from | सुदिनार्हं, |
| (3) | रोमुं | from | सद्यश्च, |
| 139 (4) | माटे | from | निमित्ते (चेतेन) |

139. (a) That this inclusion is not fanciful may be seen, in addition to the number of instances and the derivations being conclusive and indispensable, from the Konkani word दोम (=*clock*) which must be derived from Skr. दण्ड by the dropping of the unaccented initial syllable द. (For this word, दोम, see “*A Christian Parody*” (a work

(1) भूख—This may be derived in two ways —

(a) वृमुखा-वृमुक्ता—then व thrown back and merged with वृ into म, मुउक्ता, मुक्ता-भूख (G), in which case it must be excluded from this *utsarga*,

or (b) वृमुखा-वृमुक्ता—unaccented initial dropped—मुक्ता—भूख.

Si Hê VIII-iv-5 favors the former derivation as it incidentally gives वृमुक्तावृ (as an alternative of the *ādeśa* जीखइ). On the other hand, *Deśi-nāma-mālā* (Varga VI, St 106) gives मुक्ता as a *deśya* word meaning क्षुपा hunger (In Varga III, St 33 also मुक्ता is given as a meaning of छाभी). Evidently मुक्ता cannot be regarded as a purely *deśya* word, entirely unconnected with Sanskrit, as होलो, गिरिभ and many others are, but it must be one of those words which Hêmschandra for convenience, classed as *deśya* because वृमुक्ता was found in Prakrit. It is however difficult to decide whether मुक्ता-*deśya* or Prakrit—was evolved by dropping the initial वृ of वृमुखा-वृमुक्ता, or by merging the वृ in वृमुक्ता with वृ into वृ. At any rate we need not regard the वृ as a result of वृ+वृ of वृमुक्ता in the journey of the word towards Gujarati, when वृ was itself in ready to hand in Hêmschandra's time, but we may safely regard the वृ of वृमुक्ता as dropped and this seems likely as वृ is distinctly unaccented

in Konkani) by Father Thomas Stephens edited by J. L. Sallanba P. LXVI of the Introduction by the Editor. Similarly प्रबोले (Skṛ) turns into बोले (= a street a part of a town inhabited by persons of any particular description) in Beng by dropping the initial प्र (प in Pr.)

(b) Dr Tessitori Notes on O W Rāj § 71 (2) cites नई as derived from कनई by the dropping of क, and in § 74 (1) supports it by citing the following instance वाटर नई एक निरमल नीर (*Pa chāllhyāna*, 286). But this is vitiated by the fact that नई here is really नदी (= नदी), a river, which fact Dr Tessitori has admitted in a private letter to me dated 21st March 1919 honestly regarding his instance as a blunder. I shall have to say more about this in a subsequent lecture when dealing with case terminations.

here. The only thing noteworthy would be that this process of dropping occurred in the Prākṛit stage, and not in the post-Prākṛit stage.¹⁴⁰

(2) शुं—The stages through which we arrive at this word in its final shape are these:—

Skr. कौशिके, Pr. केरिसडं-कइसडं-किसडं (see *Mugdhārabodha Aukhila* (V. S. 1450), P. 16, Col. 2, also P. 17, col. 1, where the meaning is also given as किम्-तड किसिडं: ततः किम्। ततः कीदृशं या।); कियं (*Mugdhārabodha Aukhila* P. 3, Col. 1, कियं तरइ='What does he cross?'); also किसिइ='with what' (Ibid. P. same, Col. same). कियुं-विना कारण (=for what reason?); *Vasanta-Vilāsa* (V. S. 1508) St. 24.

Then—

कियुं—in the sense of 'what'

कइरूपने वियोग ते कइश

Nalākyāna by Prémānanda, XXXV, end.)

सिडं—तेह प्रति सिडं करीइ

Kāhaṭṭh-Prabandha, I-105).

where सिडं must be pronounced शुं to fit into the metrical scheme.

Then—शुं.

This शुं appears simultaneously with शियुं in *Vasanta-Vilāsa* as also in Bhāṇa's *Kādambarī*; V. S. 1508 and 1430-1570 respectively. Thus:—

140. The word could not remain in the form of शुमुसु in Prākṛit, for it would at once become शुसुसु. But I give this form only to mark the process, which was really simultaneous, i.e. the dropping of शु and change of सु to कृ were simultaneous: the Prākṛit ear heard the whole word शुमुसु, caught only मुसु out of it, and turned it to मुसुसु; the शु in this state ceased to be medial (or rather uninitial) and hence it did not turn into कृ.

I therefore hereby revise the opinion expressed by me in "Pāṇini's Pāṇini, Samvat. 1963, P. 71, where I have preferred the derivation from शुसुसु to that from शुसु.

(1) शा करं (=शा माटे, for what reason ?)

(*Vasanta-Vilāsa*, St. 42.)

किं is already cited above in *ibid*, St. 24.

(2) मेहेल आदर ए थम किंशु (*Kādambarī*-P. 87, l. 6.)

(3) दोष किंशु डि ल्यु नि धात (*Ibid*, P. 98, l. 9)

(4) काम किंशु ए मांडयं काम (*Ibid*, P. 95, l. 12)

(5) राजपुत्र तन्नो शू सांभंल्य (*Ibid*, P. 90, l. 11)

(6) रुदन करि हवि शू दोष (*Ibid*, P. 120, l. 24)

and several other places.

It is very likely from the facts noted above that शू was arrived at from किं itself, before it turned into कं.

If farther instances are wanted, here are a few more.—

(1) किंशु करइ छइ वड मिक (*Prabodha Prakāśa*, V-6; V.S. 1546)

(2) किशां किशां नमि कीषां चर्म (*Ibid*, 7 -58)

(3) वली किशा कारणि करि कीषु तन्नो उपाइ (*Ibid*, 1-16)

(4) किंशु एहउ विधास (*Ibid*, 1-83)

(5) कशि कारणी *Adi-parā* by Haridās; LXXV-11; V. S. 1647)

(6) किसि सिंधु उपसिंधु (*Ibid*, LXXV-12).

Dr. Tessitori also derives शू from कीटस through कित्त, कित्त, कित्त, कित्त of the O. W. Rāj, कइस of the Braja, कइस of the High Hindi. He also finds in the O. W. Rāj. सड, सिड, स्यु, म्यड.

1 कित्तं करसि एकिं मासि (Florentine Ms, 758, 11)

(=शुं करीष एक मासमां ?)

2 ए सिडं काम कीषडं (Panchākhyāna, 350)

(=ए शुं काम कीषु ?)

3 स्युं जाणइ (Florentine Ms, 579, 48)

(=शुं जाणे ?)

(*Vide* his article on "Dative and Genitive post-positions in Gujarātī and Marwārī"; J. R. A. S. 1913 A. D. pp. 554-555).

(8). रोयुं;—This is a most pertinent and conclusive instance, justifying the inclusion of other instances and the insertion of a whole श्रुति, instead of a mere स्वर, as liable to be dropped, when initial and unaccented.

Thus:—

Skr. सहस्रं, Pr. सहस्रतं; श्वगते—रोयुं.

रोयुं is used by villagers, and people coming from Dungaipur, Binsajda and thereabouts, as in रयि रोयो शुं दांत बादे ?

There is no possibility of any other process but the dropping of the initial स in this case.

(1) माटे;—The evolutionary steps are these.—

Skr. निमित्ते (e. g. राजोनिमित्ते; राजाने निमित्ते=राजाने माटे); or निमित्तम्; Pr. निमित्तं;

Then:—

(a) इ of मि changed to अ;

(b) त changed to ट;

(c) conjunct ट simplified, and the preceding अ lengthened;

(d) नि, unaccented initial syllable, dropped; and we have माट्; G. माटे.

I owe this derivation to Dr. Tesserotti. In his "Notes on W. Raj.", § 71, (5) he has suggested it and given all the steps. He derives from the instrumental, I prefer the locative as an alternative. His views for accepting this derivation are noteworthy; he says.—"This derivation is strongly supported by the consideration that निमित्तं mostly under the form निमत्तं, is very commonly used as a postposition in Old Western Rājasthāni texts. Instances thereof are especially common in the *Ms. Dd. F. 585* and *F. 760* (*Dadudāhāṇa*, Florentine *Ms. 585* and *760*), which is ('sic,—are) written in a somewhat old form of Jaipuri. In Old Western Rājasthāni माट् and निमत्तं are used exactly in the same meaning, viz. to indicate both purpose and consequence."

Mr. Kṛṣṇavallī H. Dhruva derives माटे from मात्रा (=property; wealth). See his Notes on Bhāṣya's *Kādambarī*, P. 270 (Note on P. 85, ll. 9-21). It is difficult to accept this derivation, espec-

ally as he gives neither the evolutionary steps nor instances of the use of the word. I must therefore reject it in favour of Dr. Tescitori's निमित्तकेन with its chain of reasonable steps and evidence of use. It is conceivable that माया may through its Pr. instrumental form (or locative form)-मायाद् (०५)—turn into माट्. But in the absence of any actual instances of usage either in the original Skr. or O. W. Rāj. and such stages, of the expression in that sense, we must pause before accepting माया as the original of माट्.

I have¹⁴¹ already referred to the tendency of dropping an unaccented initial syllable affecting even English words when corrupted in Indian languages, e. g. गिरमिट् for "agreement." In English itself this tendency is visible in words like 'cause, for because, (where, as also in most of the instances given just below, a whole mixed syllable is dropped, consonant plus vowel), 'lyou, for thank you (in slang usage), 'tween (for between), 'twixt (for betwixt), 'round (for around), 'mid (for amid), 'antage (for advantage), 'quire (for esquire), 'pon (colloquial, for upon), and the like.

UTSARGA XII

उत्सर्गनाश.

Just as the phonetic change in the last discussed *utsarga* *उत्सर्गनाश* *Elision* is concerned with the initial syllable, so there *of the consonant in a final syllable, sometimes of other non-initial syllable.* is another *utsarga* which notes the dropping, generally of the unaccented final syllable, or its consonant, and occasionally of any other uninitial syllable. This may be briefly called *उत्सर्गनाश*, as the constituent really affected is the consonant in the syllable, the vowel following and automatically, as it were.

This *utsarga* is for the¹⁴² most part confined to Gujarātī in its operation. But I insert it here, as it is something like a counterpart or complement of the last *utsarga* and furnishes cases of apheresis covering uninitial syllables.

141. See Lecture II, *supra*, P. 51, para 1.

142. I say "for the most part", because *सर्वत्र* gives *सर्वत्र* to Marāṭhī.

The following instances will illustrate this *utsarga*:—

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. or Dēśya. | Guj. |
|---|--|---|
| (1) दक्षिणः | दाक्षिण | दाक्षी |
| (2) आश्विनः | अस्तिणवः | आसो (name of the 12th month in the year) |
| (3) वदासीनः | वदासीयु | वदाश |
| (4) सायपानः | direct | सायप |
| (4a) अनुपानद् | अनुपानद् | अनुपानो, अनुप |
| (5) निमंत्रणकं | निमंत्रणं | नतिरुं |
| (6) कुंडुमं | कुंडुम | कुंडु |
| (7) अनुपमः | direct | अनुप |
| (8) नीलमणिः | नीलमणी | लीलम |
| (9) तरणकककं | direct | तरणककं तरणककुं तरणककुं (र or ण dropped alternately) } तणककुं तरणककुं |
| (10) वर्षासासनं direct | वर्षासासन | वर्षासासन |
| (11) हस्तगत direct | हस्तगत | हस्तक |
| (12) वासरकः | वासरक | वासो |
| (13) सिलावटः | सिलवट-सिलवट | सिलवट-सिलवट |
| (14) | सिलावट | सिलावट |
| (15) वीसलनगरं | direct | वीसनगर |
| (16) परिद्विप् | परिद्विप्--परीद्विप्--पीरल(वुं), then र dropped--पीरलुं | |
| (17) सुलक्षणकः | सुलक्षणक | सुलक्षणो-सुलणो |
| * (c. g. सलणो बेसी रहे=stand still; keep quiet; do not fidget). | | |
| (18) दिवगः | दिभट्ट-दिभ | दी (Kāthiawādi usage). |
| (19) | चरणियव-चरणियो | चणियो (a petticoat). |

principle is found latent (बीजस्वर) in older times so the principle of this evolution- is here traceable as बीजस्व in this form दादिण. I say, furthermore, I hope to show, when I deal with this phonetic evolution (संयोगलौक and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व) soon below in the next *utarga* that its principle is found latent in Sanskrit itself

(3) उदास—Some derive this from *Śir* उदास. But, first उदास is an out of the way word as compared with उदासीन, and 2ndly the palatal (दा) in उदास is not accounted for in उदास, whereas the ई in उदासीन accounts for the change of सू to शू.

(4-a) For the tracing of sense, and quotation see *supra* *Utgarga* IV अहवु has only the sense of bereft of the usual ornament or article of dress showing a deficiency in good appearance or a feeling of vacancy, e. g. त्वारा हाथ अगरी बिना अहवा लगैटे

(b) कटु—It is noteworthy that the final उ of this word in Gujarati is without an *anusvara*, although कटुम would lead us to expect the Gujarati evolve to end in उ. Thus the final उ would not be changed to आ before case terminations कटुनी हाथली and not कटानी. But in a particular compound we have पनावनी (a euphemism for कटु in), which is an exceptional formation.

The reason why कटु does not have a nasalized उ seems probably to be that after the loss of the final syllable the necessary ornament अर्ध is absent on account of the उ in कटु.

(8) नीलमणि—हीलम,—This derivation is suggested by me here only as a tentative one.

(12) वासी is used in a restricted sense viz the day computed after the confinement of a woman.

(13) लिहय, लिहयद—are words found in Old Gujarati literature—

लिहय लिहय ते उभय केसरतंगू,

(Narasimha Mehta)

लिहय सोहे चादलो

(*Chituri* by Narasimha Mehta)

Dr. Kdrya-Dolara, II-5

में पण जोया अक्षर रे मारी नीलवट केरहा

Īśvara mūḍhā by Muvvā date of copy
V S 1675 See Dr Kāḍya Dāhana
VI-465)

Konkani M has निदल = the forehead

[Mr K H Dhruva (Bhalana & *Idamari* Notes Pp 210-211) derives निलवट in a needlessly artificial and unauthorized manner According to him the व is an adventitious addition to preserve quantity (मात्रा भयान्नियमने अनुसरी माप जाळववा सातुं) and ट is a स्वार्थे प्रत्यय added to प्र णलाह (He derives O G हनव (=G हटपची) from हट in a similar manner) There are obvious flaws in this derivation —

- (a) The *āgama* व comes under special phonetic conditions only as in परोष्पु from प्रोय (प्रोत), and the like No such conditions exist here
- (b) There is no occasion for preservation of quantity because the accent has shifted from हा to नि and the आ is shortened, not needing any increase of quantity it being unaccented
- (c) ट termination in such cases is unknown It is only a postulated termination (in Skt originals) to account for the ट termination of अप — क generally regarded as the original of this ट being phonetically alien to ह.
- (d) If ट was the termination it should change to ड in coming into Guj (the double ट in पट्ट (which I show) prevents the ट from becoming ड)
- (e) If ट is tacked on what becomes of the ट proper of णलाह ?— णलाहट (णलवहट) would involve a superfluity
- (16) Kathiavadi G has परीष
- (17) Surat people use the word सलखणो
- (18) दी is a Kathiavadi word Only in कदी (=sometimes) used in Gujarat proper do we find this दी

Dr Lessitori came across कदी only in *Ādinatha charitra* (A

D. 1550-1600) and ("Notes" § 98, (3), last portion) calls it an 'isolated form'. As we know, *ચડી* is very common in Gujarati. Dr. Tessitori derives *ચડી* from Skr. *चडाचिह्न* or *चडाचि* through Ap **चडा-इ* (with *इ* doubled according in Pischel's *Prākṛ Gr.* § 194) — This sign * (asterisk) appears to indicate the conjectural nature of the form — Dr. Tessitori suggests this derivation with some hesitation, for he says "If I am right in my derivation." The derivation seems very plausible. But it has the disadvantage of resorting to a conjectural form like *चडा-इ* to justify the non-elision of *इ*. My derivation stands in no such need, and is supported by forms like *ચોડી* (in poetry) which clearly points to *ચોડ+ડી* (= *વિવિધ*).

(19) *ચળિયો* (= a petticoat) must be from *ચરણ*, because it covers the feet of women.

(This is a conjectural derivation)

(19-20) The accent at first is on *ર* and *૨* (*ચરળિયો-ચરણિયો*), but in the hurry of speech it shifts to the first syllable, and the *anuvāsa* of *ર* becomes soft. This opens the way to the *સૌં* of *ચ* and *૨*.

(21) For Dr. Bhandarkar's derivation from *મરતી* (Pr) and my reasons for adhering to my derivation see Lecture III, Pp 86-89 and n 25 *supra*

(22) *અચોરહો* is found in Simala Bhat's *Padmāvatī-rā-līlā* (Dr. Kūṣya Dv'ana, Vol II P 394 l 1). But I do not know what *અચોરો* itself to which the *હ* termination is affixed could be; however a guess may be permitted, and the following evolution may be suggested — *આમોરહો* (as suggested by Mr. H Dhruva, from *Dharmarāja* I-62), *આમોરહ* (*આમોરહ*) *આમોરહ*, *અમ્ચોરહ*, *અચોરહો* (મ being charged to *ચ* at once, as in *અચારી* from Arabic *અમારી* (See *supra* P. 330), and *હ* changed to *ર*)

(23) *અંતરાગ જર્જી* is the idiom in Gujarati. I have read *અંતરાગ જર્જી* in a magazine article written by a Sīrat gentleman, Mr. Chhotalal Dabhyabhai Nigardat. This

goes to support the derivation from अंतराशन (अतरा = in the middle + अशन = eating)

- (24) कन्यवर्त = Breakfast, morning meal कलवो originally must have meant this (breakfast), but now it is confined to a symbolical breakfast consisting of hand sips of milk and sugar given amongst Vadanagara Nagara to the principal persons in a bridegroom's party by the bride & people on their arrival with the bridegroom's procession I have heard a Kathiawadi & Sarasvata Brahmana use कलेवो in the sense of 'breakfast'

The word undergoes fancy changes e.g. कलमलडो ('तु तो जम्प रे जमाइंदा कलमलडो', wedding-song amongst Nagara) To such changes may be referred कर्मलो found in Braladara's *Dhrama a-Gita* (V S 1609)

कर्मलो ते माटे (पाटे) बेसी जमतो

(P 37/2 in the Ms. belonging to the Torles Gujarati Sabha's collection)

Cf also -(1) आ आही हरि बेसता रे जमता कर्मलडो दीर

(*Pāsa-Sahasrapad* Narasinha Mehta Pada LIV, St 5)

(2) कृष्ण आरोगे रुडो कर्मलो आहीरडानी साथ,

(*Dans Lila* by Narasinha Mehta Narasinha Mehta's poems 'Gujarati' Press Edition P 155 l 2)

The edition of the Gujarati Press prints कर्मलो erroneously no doubt for we find

इन्द्रादिक ब्रह्मादिक जेना चर्ण बदवा समीप नहि

त गोपाळ गोवाळा माहे जमे कर्मलो हुर दहि

(*Ibid* Appendix II, para 2 St 3 P 576)

कलवो then व to म and the addition of a ल termination will give कलमलो and the first ल changed to र gives कर्मलो

There is at present a dish of rice cooked in curds and flavoured with mustard and salt which bears the name of कर्मलो amongst the Vadanagara Nagaras It is possible that the कर्मलो mentioned in

the *Dina-Lila* &c was some such dish, a sort of porridge taken as breakfast, the कर्मलदो गीर marks a variation from curds to milk.

Vimala-prabandha, V, 78 has करंरो in the sense of करमो; ठायो पूर करंदा करी,

Evidently it is traceable to कन्वयत्त through करमो, कलरो, &c

It is possible to exclude this word from this *ut-sarja* by taking कन्वयत्त through the possible further steps, कन्डयत्त, कल्यत्त, but there is just an element of doubt in this, hence I include the instance.

(20) My derivation of चगी is only tentative. चंदा = a slave चंदगी = slavery, hence salutation to mark slavery, and, in saluting, one touches his forehead therefore the mark on the forehead, or rather between the eye brows. I admit this seems rather far-fetched and thin.

UTSARGA VIII

*Simplification of
conjunct and length
ening of the pre-
ceding vowel.*

Simplification of the conjunct and the lengthening of the preceding short vowel.

*The first member of an uninitia
homogeneous conjunct is dropped, and
the preceding short vowel is lengthened*

Notes:—(a) By the term *homogeneous conjunct* I mean the conjunct obtained by doubling a consonant, the first member of which may, if the second or fourth letter of a class, have turned into the first or third respectively, e g

अकः—अक, व्याघ्र.—वगु; दृढकं—दिढं

(b) (1) This homogeneous conjunct may either be that obtained in Prākṛit under the several *sūtras* on this subject given by Hemachandra which either note the dropping of a member of a heterogeneous conjunct or the substitution of an *addita* for such conjunct, and the further process involved in अनादी शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वम् (VIII-ii-89) and द्वितीयद्वयोपरि पूर्व (VIII-ii-90).

or, (2) it may be obtained, during the transit of words from the Prākṛit into Gujarātī, by the shifting of ह as a member of a conjunct, to another place (generally the beginning of a word)

or the dropping of the ह् and the consequent doubling of the remaining member under the operation of the principle underlying the rule about शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वम्.

(c) The लोप, dropping, of a member is only one of several evolutions which a conjunct undergoes under the general process of simplification. Others, viz. विश्लेष, preservation of the conjunct state, and weakening of a strong conjunct, will be dealt with in *utsargas* which will follow.

Examples —

(a) and (b)-(1)

| Skc. | Pr. Ap. or Dēśya. | Guj. |
|-----------|-------------------|---|
| कर्म | कम्मु | काम |
| चर्म | चम्मु | चाम(डुं) |
| सत्यर्क | सत्तु | सातुं |
| व्याघ्रः | वग्गु | वाघ |
| स्पर्शः | (पम्मु) | पास |
| | | (=the flavour or संस्कार left by the touch of something.) |
| सर्वः | सग्गु | साव |
| | | (Kāthiāvadī word). |
| दुःखं | दुक्खु | दूख |
| दुग्धं | दुद्धु | दूध |
| भक्तं | भत्तु | भात |
| भक्तकं | भत्तकं | भाधुं |
| सुम्बति | सुंबड-सुम्मड | चूमे |
| शब्द. | सद्दु | साद |
| तीक्ष्णकं | तिक्खडं | तीखुं ¹⁴⁴ |

144 तिक्त (क) means "bitter" and it would give तिक्क Pr., and it is possible for the क to be aspirated into ख under *utsarga* I-(ख) given at the beginning of this chapter. M. has तिखट् which (by its ट especially) points to तिक्त as the original. After all, just as कडु (=sharp, pungent, तीक्ष्ण) changed its sense in G. and M. (कडु G., कडु M.) into "bitter", so तिक्त may have changed the sense from "bitter" to "pungent." If we

| | | |
|----------|---|----------|
| दृष्टकं | दिष्टकं | दीष्टं |
| शिथिले | सिथिले | शीले (ऐ) |
| उर्ध्वकं | उर्ध्वकं | उर्ध्वं |
| चत्वरं | चत्वरं | चाचर |
| यत्प्रभः | यत्प्रभ-यत्प्रभ | यत्प्रो |
| गृधः | गिद्ध | गीध |
| नग्नकः | नग्नक | नागो |
| बुधुधा | बुधुधा | भुग |
| सत्परकः | सत्परक | साधरो |
| भूतनकं | भूतिभवं | भुंभुं |
| | (Dēśya) भूटं (°टुं) | भूटं |
| | " ठूलो (°लुड) | ठालो |
| | (=निर्वनः—then by लक्षणा it came to mean 'empty', which is the sense of G. ठालो.) | |
| | " पदरं (°रडं) | |
| | (=सशु; straight) | पापटुं |
| | (Dēśya) वप्पो (वप्पु) | वाप 145 |

accept this view, and I do not see why we should not, then वृद्ध must be excluded from this list.

145. Śiśir Vrajīlī (*Uttara mādā*, P. 114, also 11. 7, 37, 56) and, probably following him, Navārlin (*Vyutpatti-prthā*, *uttara*, 9, P. 65), derive वाप form वापः. This is obviously wrong. There is no such word as वापः (or, as others give it, वारुह.) meaning "father" and to argue that वापकः="a sower means, "a father metaphorically is hardly acceptable. The व could not remain unchanged whereas प्प would give a single प. Besides, the initial व cannot be changed to व in Gujarati (as it does in Hindi), only an uninitial व or one left after some phonetic change such as reduction of a conjunct or loss of a syllable (as in दि-व; अणु-व; उपविशति-उपविश-व-विश-व-विश) becomes व in Gujarati, as a rule. And when we have, as a matter of fact, the word वृद्ध in *Dēśya* ready to hand, there is no need to go out of our way in search of any fanciful and unscientific derivation.

Hemachandra (*Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi*, III—220) gives वना as one of the words meaning "father" (वपति वीजं वना) But I confess my inability to swallow such a fanciful connection between वन and वना,

(Dêśya) तेहो (तेहु) तीह
 ,, णक्कं (णक्कु) नक्क
 (नक्क is an unreal Sanskritized form of णक्क,
 and must be discarded.)

(b) — (2)

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------|-------|
| तीक्ष्णकं | तिण्हउं—तिण्णउं | तीउं |
| स्फुट्णकं | लण्हउं—नण्हउं नहउं | नहाउं |
| कुण्णः | कण्हउं—कण्णु कहउं | कहान |
| उष्णकं | उण्हउं—हुण्णउं हुउं | हुउं |
| ग्रीष्मः | गिण्हउं—गिण्णु | गीम |
| प्रस्नवः | पण्हउं—पण्णउ | पहानो |

Sometimes, in certain words, the conjunct alternately under-
 goes *विश्लेष* (to be shown in *utsarga XV* below) or drops the first member of the Prākṛit
Process alternation in certain cases. conjunct and lengthens the preceding vowel.

Examples:—

| | | |
|-----------|-------|--------|
| वातां | वत्ता | वात |
| or-direct | | वास्ता |
| मार्गः | मग्गु | भाग |
| or-direct | | मारग |
| कर्म | कम्मु | काम |
| or-direct | | करम |
| गर्भः | गम्भु | गाभ |
| or-direct | | गरभ |
| सर्वः | सन्दु | साव |

especially as वत्ता would be वत्ता in Pr., unless वत्ता be a Sanskritized form of the *Dêśya* वप्पो which is not likely, the difficulty about ण changing to प facing us here also, the change of च to प्र which I have noted in a previous *utsarga*, (*Supra*, p. 337), may be suggested here, but that means going too far on slender grounds.

| | | | |
|-------|-----------|------|------|
| सर्वः | or-direct | मध्य | सरय |
| | | | साय |
| | or-direct | | सरय. |

[Note:-(a) Except in the case of साय-सरय all the words in the above list bear a change of meaning in the alternative forms; thus:—

वात = talk, conversation; वास्ता = a story, a tale;

माय = room, space; माय = a road, way;

काम = work, action; काम = action in the sense of fruit-carrying, fate-creating factors; fate;

गाम = fortus; गाम = core, internal substance;

माय = complete; सरय = all.

(b) In Prākṛit Grammar, as written by Hemachandra, in the

*The process in
Prākṛit and Guja-
rātī contrasted.*

portion which treats of conjuncts, the लोप is mentioned in some cases of the first member, and in some cases of the second member (ऊर्ध्वलोप or अधोलोप). But for the most part this लोप is artificial, from the point of view of simplification of conjuncts, so also are the single consonants which are given as *addās* of double or treble conjuncts, all these (viz. लोप and the आदेश) being but *en passant* changes. For अनादी गेपादेशयोर्द्वित्वम् (Si. Hc. VIII-ii-89) points to the further and final change viz. the doubling of the remnants and the *addās*. Thus this is no simplification in the sense of reduction to a single consonant, it is a simplification in the limited sense of reduction of heterogeneous to homogeneous conjuncts; but no more. (Only अनादी excludes the initial conjunct, in which case the single remnants or *addās*, remain undoubled, and that is a case of true simplification, but, for the purpose of our present *utarga* there is artificiality in these *interim* changes.) Only a few instances are exceptional, in that the single consonant (लोप or आदेश) remains undoubled. These are those dealt with in Si. Hc. VIII-ii-92 to 97 (both inclusive).¹⁴⁶

146. It is noteworthy that while Sanskrit Grammars, dealing as they do with formations in a language actually turned into shape, give *śāstras* which handle artificial *Interim* conditions of the elements of grammatical

In Gujarātī, on the other hand, after the संयोगलोप under this *utsarga*, no new conjunct is evolved, this is simplification of the conjunct, real and true. This is to be noted specially, as also the fact that the संयोगलोप happens to the conjunct evolved in

formations Prākṛit grammars, on the other hand dealing as they do with actual phonetic changes which mark the transit from Sanskrit to Prākṛit, handle formations which are inspired by natural causes. This being so, the artificiality shown above in Hēmachandra's treatment, must be noted is only in the restricted sense connected with the aspect of simplification of conjuncts. For the same reason is the distinction between Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammars noted above, the absurd length to which Chanda's artificiality goes really jars on our phonetic sense. An instance or two will explain what I mean.

Chanda tries to simplify his grammar by combining in his third chapter the rules for single as well as conjunct consonants. Thus he prescribes लोप for any one of the components of a conjunct and prescribes an *addita* for the remaining one and then gives of that. As a result

(a) he becomes untrue to *real phonetic* mutations and principles, and (i) he becomes cumbersome (गौरवपूर्ण).

For example, III—1 says य् and र् coming after ह् (in a conjunct) are dropped and cites युष्मे । सु र्मे । जिह्व । जिष्मा । and then he has III 21 to change ह् to झ and III 21 to change ह् to झ्.

Here the really true phonetic history, viz. the change of य् to र् (in the former instance) and र् to ह् (in the latter) and then the aspirated of the two into झ and झ् by the ह्, is all lost sight, perverted.

Then Chanda has three *sūtras* for changing ह् to झ, ह् to झ् and ह् to झ्—(e.g. गृह-घर, बाह-बाही and जिह्वा-जिष्मा), -III-19, 20 and 21. This is गौरव and on the top of it untrue phonetic history.

Again for य् he has two *sūtras*, one for ह् to र् and another for ह् to य्, III-19 20. This is untrue phonetic history, and almost ludicrously absurd. It reminds me of the derivation of बहेन by a nameless person, which he stated that भ changed to ब, यि to हे and नी to न and the मणिनी (Skr.) became बहेन (G).¹ As I have already pointed out (supra, p. 109, n. 54) the stages are य् to यर् (यर्ह), shifting of ह् to the beginning (यर्ह), and the union of य् and ह् into य, —यर्ह. Hēmachandra, with his *additas* for whole conjuncts and the like is more sensible than Chanda.

Prakrit from the Sanskrit words. However one exception to the first part noted here deserves special notice. It is as already stated in the beginning of this *utsarga* that when ह gets away from a conjunct either by being dropped or by shifting of place the remaining consonant first gets doubled and the preceding vowel is lengthened.]

The सयोगलोप mentioned in this *utsarga* is almost invariably उपगोप only in the case of the separation of ह from a conjunct it is the अपगोप (or it is the shifting of the lower ह), e.g. तिण्ड-निग-तावु कण्ड-कण्णु-वदान. In all other instances-कण्डि-कण्ड-कण्डि निगवड-तीनु ओड-होड It is the first member that is dropped. In words like ओड the vowel preceding the conjunct is long and hence there is no occasion for lengthening it.

We may just glance at the historical antiquity of the principle underlying this *utsarga* सयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वर दीर्घत्व. Dr. Tessitori remarks that the 'simplification of double consonants and the lengthening of the preceding vowel which is the chief phonetical characteristic of modern vernaculars comparable with Apabhramsa had already begun long before the fourteenth century (of the Christian Era) - See his Notes on O. W. R., Ind. Ant. February 1914 p. 22. Of course he draws this inference from the operation of this principle merely in the single form हवह (termination) changed to हज in the *Prakrit P. gala*. Perhaps it would be more correct to state in view of this feature being a distinctive character of the modern vernaculars that this process has its बीजम् indications in the change of हजह to हज in the fourteenth century. For we can take it still further back - only as बीजम् i.e. in a latent form - to the times of Hemachandra and earlier as we have seen behind in the case of दण्डि changed to दण्डिण, the working of this same principle¹⁴⁷ the ड being first changed to दण, then to द, (which runs into ह) and on दह becoming दह द is lengthened into दा

I say earlier than Hemachandra, because the form must have been in existence in the language long enough for him to record it in his grammar as a settled feature, and also because the Prakrits had ceased to be spoken languages in his time — In one exceptional *sūtra* only does Hemachandra note in express terms the lengthening of a vowel preceding a conjunct which has dropped one of its members दस्यखययसा शयसा दीर्घ (VIII : 43) Of course this affects the first लोप of a conjunct existing in Sanskrit where as our *utsa ga* deals with the dropping of a member of a conjunct derived after this dropping in Prakrit by अनादौ शेषादेशयोद्विस्वम् which is barred in the above *sūtra*

But we can go still further back in the Sanskrit period and see the operation of this principle in that language You have only to look at Pāṇini VIII iii 13 (दीर्घे लोपः) and VIII iii 14 (रोरि) which note the dropping of द immediately followed by द् and of इ similarly followed by इ and then to look at VI iii 111 (द्वौपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः) under which when these द् and इ are dropped the preceding अ, इ, or उ are lengthened Thoa we have लिद्+त्त=लिद्+द=लीद similarly गुद्+त्त=गुद्+द=गीद मिद्+त्त=मिद्+द=मीद, रद्+त्त=रद्+द=रीद यद्+त्त=यद्+द=यीद, निद्+त्त=नीद We can thus see this principle operating in a latent form no doubt but still operating even before the time of Pāṇini (I say 'before' on the same ground as I gave in the case of Hemachandra just now viz that the forms must have been in vogue long enough in the language for Pāṇini to recognize them) i e before the eighth century B C (see Dr Bhandarkar's Lectures P 301 for the date of Pāṇini) All this I need not repeat, marks only the latent state of the principle as indicating the tendency of human speech to simplification and adjustment in the shape of preservation of phonal quantity at the same time. As to the operation of the principle in full swing we must place it in the period when our modern vernaculars began to assume distinct shape and existence

Yet we still find that one or two isolated modern vernaculars have adhered to the old conjunct unsimplified, and therefore the

preceding short vowel unlengthened in form (being long by position as it would be none the less). These vernaculars are Sindhi, Panjabi and Kachchhi which in this particular stand out strongly aloof from the rest of the cognate languages. Marathi, Gujarati, Bangali, Oriya and to a certain extent Hindi for Hindi has काम, दाय

&ca as well as मकखन and such words occasionally, but this is among rare exceptions, and we may class Hindi along with the general group in this respect. Sindhi, Panjabi and Kachchhi thus have कम्म, दाय, अज्ज &ca, where the other vernaculars have काम, दाय, आज्ज &ca. I may observe here that, while recognising the double consonants in the case of Panjabi, Dr Sir R G Bhandarkar, following older writers on Sindhi grammar and language and compilers of Sindhi dictionaries, represents the Sindhi sounds in these words by कयु, दयु &ca, i.e. without the double consonants क्म, द्द, &c. Sir George Grierson also adopts the same view. In an article in the J. R. A. S. 1913 A. D. P. 143, he represents कयु कयु (=the ear)—or rather कयु कयु—thus—*kan**, *kan** (This diacritical u above the line is obviously intended to mark the peculiarly short and spasmodic sound of उ in कयु &ca.) Beames (I, p. 153) also labours under the same belief, viz. that "Sindhi and Panjabi prefer short vowels, but P generally follows them up by a double consonant while S does not" (By the way, it is inverting the order of phonetic evolution to say that P follows up the short vowel by a double consonant")

Now with due deference to all these writers and lexicographers I think that theirs is not the correct representation of the actual Sindhi sound. I would only point in the metrical test a test which will not fail us or mislead us in matters of phonetic quantity. In verse अज्ज (or अज्जु), for instance, would alone satisfy the metrical condition by its double consonant and consequent *गुरुत्व* of the preceding short vowel अज्ज would fail—in a line like this—

¹⁴⁸“छा मजादूसा अज्जु आ कहेही सिटी हे चादणी”

Here the rhythm of this line (which resembles the Gujarati हरिगीत scheme of metre in this case) would suffer if अज्जु were substituted for the conjunct-possessing अज्जु.

A Sindhi scholar of great repute—Mirza Kalich Beg of Hyderabad (Sindh)—informs¹⁴⁹ me that कम्मु and कम्म both are

148 I quote this line from memory as I heard it sung in an adaptation of “*The Merchant of Venice*” rendered by Mirza Kalich Beg and performed by the students of the D. J. Arts College of Karachi at Hyderabad, Sindh in 1896 or 1897 A. D. A word here or there may be different there from the original, but I am perfectly sure of the metrical value of अज्जु therein.

149. I subjoin an extract from Mirza Kalich Beg’s letter dated 15th December 1915 in answer to my queries about some features of the Sindhi Language —

“As for the double consonants, as in Sindhi words *Kammu*, *Ajja* etc. we represent it in Sindhi with a mark called *shad*. Its form is *w* given over the letter. It is taken from Arabic, like almost all other forms and letters too. Our Sindhi is called Arabic-Sindhi and so this particular mark is used and I think it serves the purpose very well. When we say *Kam* or *Aj* we do not use that mark, but this form is used in Persian only where the last consonant is often unmoved, i. e. has no vowel mark. But in Sindhi the last letters of consonants are always moved and then the consonant may be single or double. If it is *Kammun*, we read it with some force (कम्मु). Then we give only the *shad* mark on *m*. *Kam* is one syllable and *Kammu* has two syllables and so the metrical quantity is different too. Accordingly in Sindhi poetry it is counted one or two syllables respectively in scanning. In Persian poetry too, it is so. Sometimes where there is a single consonant we use double consonant with a poetical license or we break one syllable into two. But that is only in poetry, e. g. the king’s name *Jamshed* has two syllables, but in Persian poetry sometimes it is made *Jammushed* (3 syllables). In Sindhi we follow Persian and Arabic in grammar, prosody &c.”

I am afraid Mirza Kalich Beg has depended only on the number of syllables and not on the quantity of each syllable which is an important factor. *Kammun* in addition to having two syllables, has three moræ, while *Kam* has only two moræ. But substantially the above quoted views bear out my case for the double consonant, the alternative single consonant being more or less the result of inaccurate appreciation of

Bhândarker has treated the principle independently and in detail but made incidental mention of it. Dr Bhandârkar's reference to the principle (at P 198 of his Lectures), though brief and incidental, is fully suggestive, no doubt, while Mr Beames touches merely the fringe of the question in a casual manner. (See his Vol, I, § 41 (pp 152 156) §§ 72 93, which deal almost entirely with inter relation of the components of nexuses and their modifications)

UTSARGA VIV

The dropping of the first member of a conjunct without lengthening the preceding short vowel

सयोगलोप पूर्वस्वर अविकृत

This *utsarga* deals practically with exceptions to the last *utsarga*, but the instances are many, and the cause or causes of the apparent violation of the essential principle of balancing of quantity deserve attention I, therefore, put this as a separate *utsarga*

Simplification of conjunct unattended by lengthening of preceding vowel

In some words the conjunct is simplified without a corresponding adjustment of quantity i. e., the first member of the conjunct is dropped, but the preceding short vowel remains short, as a result of certain counter acting forces

Examples —

| Skrt | Pr. Ap or Desya | Guj |
|---------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| पश्चात् | पच्छइ (Si. III. VIII iv 420) | पजी ¹⁵⁰ |
| चित्त | चित्तु | चित |
| उत्सग | उच्छगु | उछग |
| उद्गास | उद्गास | उछास |

150 If पाछु पाछो, पाछी, adjective, is taken into account this may come under विकल्प But पश्चात् would be the true adjectival source of पाछु, and then पच्छइ &c. would be the steps thus that would fall under the general rule and पजी, indeclinable, be the exception

| | | |
|-------------|--|---|
| विश्रुतिः | विष्णुती | विनंती |
| पापदिः | ¹⁵¹ पारदी (<i>Si. Ht. VIII-i-285</i>) | पारपी |
| व्याख्यानं | वक्तव्य | वराण |
| | | =praise. This involves slight change in sense which is allowable) |
| परिचिदकः | परिस्तेभ | |
| | परिस्तेवड | परशेवो |
| कपूरं | कणूह | कपूर |
| आश्रयं | अच्छरिगु | अच्छरज |
| गुजराः | गुजर | गुजर |
| चक्राकः | चक्राओ | चक्रवो |
| | (<i>Si. Ht. VIII-i-8</i>) | |
| एकस्थकं | एकदृवं | एकदुं |
| प्रतिष्ठापा | पदिच्छाभा (पदिच्छायव) } | { पदछो; पदछायो |
| सुखधाराः | सुखदाट | सुतार |
| सुवर्णकारः | सुवर्णभार | |
| | सुवर्णार | सुनार |
| चमकृतं | चमकिकभं | चमकयुं |
| नक्षः | नक्षु (<i>Si. Ht. VIII-ii-99</i>) | नक्ष ¹⁵² |
| पशवारिकं | पशवारिकं | पशवारिणं |
| भटः | भट्ट | भट |
| वृद्धकः | वृद्ध | वरो |
| नाम्नि | णत्ति | नपी |

151. पारदं=भसेटक, hunting, is a Dr̥ṣya word (*Dr̥ṣya nḍma-midd*, VI-77.) Now far पारदिः is a real Sanskrit word, or the dr̥ṣya nature of पारदं is correct, it is difficult to decide पारदिः=hunting, पारपी=hunter. This change is not unusual. Or पारदिः may be taken as a word for 'hunter', though it would be far-fetched.

152. If नक्ष is taken as a *Totems*, this may be excluded from the list. But नक्ष, being such a familiar word, and नक्षु Pr. furnish such a special facility, that I am inclined to retain it in this list.

| | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| चतुरस्रं | चउरसु | चारस |
| मष्ट. | मल्ल | मळ |
| भद्रकं | भल्लं ¹⁵³ | भल्लं |
| परकीयकं | पारकवं <i>St. Hl. VIII-1-44</i> | पाखं |
| पत्रकं | पत्तरवं | पतरुं |
| शक्नोति | सकइ * | सके(छे) |
| 154 { अंगरक्षकं | अंगरकखवं | अंगरखं |
| { पादरक्षकं | direct पगरकखवं | पगरख |
| | णत्था | नध्य (विकल्प—नाध्य ¹⁵⁵) |

153 I can find no direct authority for the change of द्र to ल्ल either in *St. Hl.* or *Pr. Prak*, or *Prdl. Laksh*. An indirect indication is furnished in *St. Hl.* VIII : 82 which deals with the change of आ to ओ in the word आर्द्र, and gives the instance ओल्ल, भल्लं and भइ. Again in *Kumdrapāḍā Charita* VIII 76, in the gloss Hémachandra, dealing with भल्ल in भल्लचण and भल्लवण, says: भल्लेति शीघ्रादिवात् भद्र तस्य भावो भद्रत्वं भद्रता, this refers to शीघ्रादीनां इदिल्लदयः *St. Hl.* VIII iv 422, but as भद्र भल्ल is not cited therein we must understand him to extend शीघ्रादि to भद्र as an आकृतिगण. This seems to have been arranged, because द्र is changed to ल्ल in a limited number of words (आर्द्र, भद्र, पद्र). If भल्ल and पल्ली are taken as *Diśya* words, all trouble can be saved, भद्र, पद्र may be regarded as Sanskritized words based on भल्ल-पल्ली. But underlying all these must be accepted the principle of the change of द्र to ल्ल.

154 These two words are not likely to have existed in original Sanskrit, but they are placed here as synthetic words to explain the derivation.

155 The sense of "nose string" (= a bullock's nose string) is the only one given by Hémachandra in his *Diśi nāma-mālā* IV-17. जथा नासारज्जु । जथा नासारज्जु ॥ In the illustration he gives जथादिओसहेण (= नासारज्जुरहितवृत्तेण). A woman's nose ring is an ornament unknown to Sanskrit literature or ancient Indian civilization, as far as I can ascertain. I find no word for it in any dictionary or *Kōśa*, nor in literature, before the Moslem advent. This ornament was evidently a Moslem importation during the later centuries of their Indian occupation. This is my belief founded on negative and partly positive evidence. I should be glad of any light thrown on this subject.

In an article on 'The Dress of Ardyā Sāra, and the toilette of the

| | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Dīḍya | डिनाली | डिनाळ |
| " | कटारी | { कटारी कटार |
| " | कटच्छ | कटछी |
| " | कच्छरो | कचरो |
| " | बप्पीओ | बपैयो |
| " | वत्थन्ठ पत्थन्टा ^{1 2 2} | वथठ पाथठ |
| " | पत्थारी (Dīsi Nama-milā, VI-69) | पथारी |

There are some instances of विकल्प for this *utsarga*, whereby either the preceding vowel is lengthened optionally or the conjunct is kept unchanged optionally. Thus:—

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| अरण्यं | { अरण्य रण्य } | रण; | रान |
| कपटकं | कप्पटकं | कपट्टं (=an article of clothing); | कापट (=cloth), |
| | | ^{1 2 2} कपट्टं = (a bodice) | |
| ^{1 2 2} { प्रस्तारः. | परथर | पथरो | |
| प्रस्तारः | पथर - | पथ्यर | |

Hebrew Lady" by R. P. Umrigar, at pp. 95 ff. of the "Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume," I find nose-rings mentioned among the Hebrew Lady's ornaments in De Quincey's essay on the "Toilette of the Hebrew Lady", and also as ornaments worn by men among the Medianites."

156. Dr. Bhindārkar derives वथठ पाथठ by metathesis of वठय पाथठ. Dr. वल्लभ-द पठय-द, वर वरयय वरय. (His Lectures, p. 120, last two lines). The word I have relied on is taken from Dīḍi-rāmā-milā 11-122.

157. "मनउमनुं कापडुं ते रानु डीमडीक"

(Festive song in vogue amongst the Nāgar women).

158. These sets of words are on a special footing, in as much as the change is connected with the tacking on or taking away of the क suffix.

| | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| 158 | { पक्षः पक्षः | पक्षउ then change of gender; पक्षउं | परुं ¹⁵⁹ |
| | | | पांख |
| 158 | { गर्दभकः गर्दभकः | गरदुड गरदुड | गधेडो गदो |
| | | | { सुप्पर खोपरी ¹⁶⁰ |
| | कर्परं | खप्परं | { उझड उझड |
| | Dēśya | उज्जहं | |

The principle underlying this *utsarga* depends on the influence of accent and the length or shortness of the subsequent syllable. The short vowel remains unchanged if the succeeding syllable is long or accented; e. g. उछंग, गधेडो, विनंती, छिनाळ, छतार, छनार, कटारी &c.. Here, the second syllable in these words is long and accented; hence the first vowel is short in spite of the simplification of the conjunct.

Similarly, in परखेवो, पदछायो, the accent which, in the original, was on the second syllable (रि, डि), shifts on to the third syllable (शे, छो); and in एकडुं it moves from क (in एकडुं) to ए (in एकडुं). Hence the vowel preceding the conjunct remains short.

In उयल पायल—उ remains unaccented, and ए of एयल्ल becomes accented, hence उ is short and ए lengthened into पा, and the accent being fully placed on पा, the अ in either of the यs remains unaccented and so unlengthened, in spite of the simplification of the two ल्लs (that in उयल्ल and that in एयल्ल).

UTSARG XV.

विशेष or dissolution of the conjunct.

A conjunct, non-initial or initial, undergoes विशेष (dissolution).

158. See bottom of the last page.

159. पोतनां पखां नव जुवे दाड चामडां मूरख भुवे (Akho)

160. The preceding अ here is changed to ओ instead of being lengthened homogeneously into पा.

NOTES:—

(a) This વિષેય generally takes place in words coming direct from Skr., but it also occurs in words coming through Pr..

(b) The principle of વિષેય has its source in rare cases of વિપ્રવર્ણ in the Prākṛits: e. g. પૂર્વ becomes પુરવ in Śaurasēni (Si. III. VIII-iv-270); શે-વે become રિસ (Si. III. VIII-ii-103) in Mahārāṣṭrī; conjuncts with a વ split up into રહ, કિલેસો &c. (Si. III. VIII-ii-106). See also the sūtras about વિપ્રવર્ણ in Vararuchi's *Prdīpta-Prakāśa*.

The distinction in Gujarātī is that it always has an અ between the consonants split up by વિષેય.

[For further remarks on વિષેય, વિપ્રવર્ણ and સ્વરભક્તિ which is the ultimate source of this principle, see *supra* Pp. 117-118, n. 5 at P. 118, and note A on સ્વરભક્તિ at the end of Lecture IV, section 1].

Examples:—

| | |
|---------|--------------|
| સૂર્ય: | મૂરજ |
| માયા | મારજા |
| માર્ગ: | મારગ |
| વાતા | વારતા |
| સર્વ: | સરવ |
| સર્વ: | સરવ |
| ગર્ભ: | ગરમ |
| વર્મ | વરમ |
| ગર્વ: | ગરવ |
| દર્વ: | દરવ |
| ધર્મ: | ધરમ |
| વર્ણ: | વરણ (=caste) |
| ચેત્ર: | ચેતર |
| પ્રતાપ: | પરતાપ |
| પ્રભુ: | પરસુ |
| એવ્વા | ઠાઠેવાવ |

लग्न
विघ्न

लग्न } “वाणीना लग्न
वघ्न } ने क्रोडसे वघ्न”
(Proverb)

[लग्न Skr does not mean ‘marriage’ (लग्न Guj) This sense seems to have come by *वक्षणा*, because a marriage is usually performed on a happy conjunction or position of the stars (शुभ लग्न)]
[Notes—(1) The instances मार्ग to कर्म have also a विकल्प, मार्ग &c as stated in *Utgarga* \III above, q v

(2) ग्रहक, प्रताप and प्रभु are instances of an initial conjunct dissolved while in *श्लेषमा* both the conjuncts—initial and non initial—are dissolved]

Words coming through Prākṛit

| Skr | Pr or Ap or Deśya | Guj |
|------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| विक्रयः | ¹⁶¹ विक्रय | वक्वरो |
| सप्रह | सप्रह | सघरो |
| आश्रय | आश्रय | आशरो |
| निधेनि | ¹⁶² निसेणी | नीसरणी |
| ग्रहण | ग्रहण | घरण |
| ग्राह्य | (ग्राभइ) | घराय |
| अग्रालक or अग्रह | अग्रह | अघरु |
| प्राघुणव | प्राघुणव | घहणो |
| भाद्रपद | भाद्रव | भादरवो |
| कोदरा (plur) | कोदरा (r dropped then) | कोदरा |
| पत्रं | पत्र | पतरु ¹⁶³ |
| चित्तपति | चित्ते-चित्तर | चीतरे (छ) |
| मूत्रपति | मूत्र-मूत्रर | मूतरे (छ) |
| रात्रौ | रात्रिहि-रात्र | रातर ¹⁶⁴ |

161 The *र*, as a second (lower) member of a conjunct, remains in Apabhraṃśa. Hence विक्रय and the subsequent forms in the list.

162 Pr has निसेणी and Deśya has नीसणिभा. But Gujarātī retains the *र*, hence I take the Ap form निधेनि.

163 पत्र = a sheet of metal पतरु = the leaf of a tree (पतरु is a Sāratī word)

164 रात्रि has come to be used as an adverb (I can see ‘it

| | | |
|----------|---|---|
| प्रमाणेन | प्रमाणे ¹⁶⁵ | परमाणे (=according to.) |
| प्रमाणकः | प्रमाणकं | परमायुं (=measure) |
| उपर्वकः | उपर्वक | सपरमो (सपरमो रक्षादी= a festive day) |
| प्रपा | प्रपा | परव |
| कोटिः | कोटी-श्रोटी ¹⁶⁶ | करोट (=ten million) |
| द्वुक्तः | द्वुक्त ¹⁶⁷ | परो |
| एकादश | एगारद अग्यारद (by a peculiar but partial metathesis of ए and आ, wherein आ throws an अ back to the beginning and at the same time retains its old place). अग्यार | ¹⁶⁸ अगियाद |

In some cases after the विष्टेय has taken place, the first member of the conjunct gets doubled, (in the transitional stage, or continues so in the final stage too), as a re-acting effect of the strong conjunct consonant in the precedent

After dissolution of conjunct the first member gets doubled in certain cases.

night'); just like स[रि]रे (=in the evening), the र in स[रि]रे may be due to false analogy with रा[रि]रे.

165. Apabhrāmśa has ए in the instrumental (Ss. III. VIII-iv 333) in the case of words ending in अ.

166. The र is added, after the fashion of Apabhrāmśa (Ss. III. VIII-iv-399). An *utsarga* on this basis will follow later on.

167. See, Ss. III. VIII-ii-80. It will explain the Prākṛit retention of र, and the change by व्ययय from ह्र. Hīmaśāndra mentions, with apparent doubt, that द्र itself is Sanskrit—द्रद्वयमपि कश्चि संरुतं मय्यते II

168. The change of अ to र in वि is under *utsarga* III-(f) in Lecture IV section I; see Pp. 232-3 *supra*, or, as suggested there, it may be a case of ररमदि like इनिपाड]

stage, (although, in some cases, the total *mātra*-quantity of the syllables increases thereby); e. g.—

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| छत्रं | छत्तरं | छापुं |
| छत्रं | छत्तु | छत्तर |
| छत्तु would give छत्त=ceiling | | |
| पत्रं | पत्तरं | { पत्तुं पात्तुं |
| (पत्तं would give पत्तुं) | | |
| अस्ति | * अस्तति— * अस्तद् | |
| | अच्छद्-अडद्-उद् | छे |
| चित्रयति | चित्रेद्-चित्तरद् | चीतरे (छे) |
| मूत्रयति | मूत्रेद्-मुत्तरद् | मूतरे (छे) |
| निद्रा | निरा | नीर |

In these instances, अस्ति—having three *mātrās*, becomes अस्तद् with four *mātrās*; So निद्रा—a four-*mātrā* word—becomes निरा with five *mātrās*. छत्तर and पत्तुं are instances wherein the doubled consonant continues in the final state.

UTSARGA XVI

The non-Initial conjunct remains unsimplified.

In some words, 'under the influence of accent, the conjunct remains unsimplified

up to the Gujarātī stage.

Examples:—

| Skr. | Pr., Ap., or Dīśya | Guj. |
|----------|--------------------|------------|
| सप्तदश | सत्तरद् | सत्तर |
| पञ्चकः | सट्ठ | छट्ठो |
| अपत्यकं | अवत्तं | वत्तुं |
| वृद्धकः | वुद्धद् | 169 वुद्धो |
| प्रप्यतः | पत्तु | पत्तर |
| छत्रं | छत्तु | छत्तर |

169. वुद्धो seems to have been taken into Gujarātī from Hindī.

| | | |
|---------|---------|-------------|
| पत्रकं: | पत्रउं | 170 पत्रुं |
| सप्तकः | सप्तउ | 171 सप्तो |
| अष्टकः | अष्टउ | 171 अष्टो |
| चतुष्कः | चतुष्कउ | 171 चतुष्को |

Cases of विकल्प. In some words this retention of the double consonant is optional; the alternative form with the simplified conjunct, has the preceding vowel lengthened generally; thus:—

| | | |
|----------|---------------|--|
| कक्षा | कच्छा | 172 कच्छो or काछदी |
| प्रस्तरः | पत्थरु | 172 पत्थर or पथरो |
| पक्वकः | पक्वउ | { पक्वो or पाक्वो (=clever; cunning). |
| कर्परः | क्षप्परं | 173 क्षप्पर and क्षोपरी |
| रथकं | 174 रुक्मरुडं | { रुक्मं and रुक्मं 175 |
| (Dīkṣa) | हृदं | 175 जुहू, गृहं |
| (,,) | वदिहो | वहो, वहलो 175 |
| (,,) | वज्रउ | वज्र, वज्रउ |

Note:—In the above list the double aspirates in the words in Gñj. call for an explanation. Phonetically the conjuncts

170. पत्रुं=A leaf; then, a playing card.

171. सप्तो, अष्टो, चतुष्को are the seven, eight and four of the playing cards; and the original Sanskrit words are only put as formal originals. They do not exist in Skr. in that sense.

172. काछदी and पथरो are obtained by affixing the क termination.

173. क्षोपरी shows an unusual change of भ to क्षो; in पथरो the alternative is an unchanged short vowel.

क्षप्पर=The skull used as the begging bowl of Śiva or Kṣīṇ.

क्षोपरी=The skull of an animal.

174. रुक्म is not mentioned in *हमिद्रादिपत्र* (Ss. III. VIII-1-254) for the change of र to रु, but I have taken रुक्म on the analogy of that *gāṇa*, as it ends with रुक्मि and may therefore include kindred cases.

175. रुक्मं, जुहू, वहलो;—the double consonant here signifies intensity. So would the conjunct in रुक्मो, वहलो, चोहं &c.,.

ought to have the homogeneous unaspirate as the first member (as in the Prākṛit words); but until a few years ago when the Educational Department decided to adopt the truly phonetic conjunct (ङ, क्त &c.), it was the practice inside and outside the Department to have both the members aspirates. I have adhered to the older practice for three reasons: (1) It would be needless pedantry to adopt the truly phonetic form; (2) after the aspirate attains द्वित्व the sound that will be uttered will be automatically that of the unaspirate plus aspirate conjoined, even if we write it with the double aspirate; and (3) there should be no interference with the existing practice under these circumstances.

UTSARGA XVII

*Non-initial strong
conjunct becomes
weakened.*

A non-initial strong conjunct becomes a weak conjunct in certain words, (सचलसंयोग turns into निरलसंयोग), and the preceding vowel is lengthened in some cases.

Example:—

| | Skr. | Guj. |
|------|--------|------------------|
| (1) | कल्य | काल्य |
| (2) | नित्य | नित्य |
| (3) | वेद्य | वेद्य, then वैद. |
| (4) | समस्या | समद्या |
| (5) | धन्य | धन्य भाग्य |
| (6) | भाग्य | भाग्य |
| (7) | राज्य | राज्य-राज |
| (8) | मध्य | मध्य |
| (9) | असह्य | (असह्य then) असह |
| (10) | साह्य | साह्य |
| (11) | कल्याण | कल्याणदास |

(12) कलद्रूप

कलद्रूप

(13) मल्लघारी

मल्लघारी

Explanations and remarks:—

(1) The य which was strong in कल्प्य (Skr.) is weak (लघुप्रत्यय) in काल्य (G.). It appears as कालि in the *Mugdharabodha Auktika* (V. S. 1150) P. 16. Col. 2:—आमु अप कालि कल्पे गियकालि. It is possible the य in कल्प्य was evolved out of the इ in कालि.

(2). नित्य with a weak य is frequent in G.; cf. नित्य भक्तिरते इदं भरणो (*Kusumārīlā*, P. 53, st. 3; Narasimharāo Bhojānāth).

(8) सख्यपि हरि रंगि राधि
वृंदावनि गोपीमध्य नाधि

(Padmanābha; copy v. s. 1715; see *Guj.-Sāhitya* XII, May number; Mr. Chhagauli V. Rāva's article in the *Gujarātī* of 13th August 1914 reproduced therein.)

मध्य may be a further evolution of मयि G. W. R; though मध्य would in the ordinary course change into मज्ज Pr..

(9) असह Skr. has an active sense ('unable to endure'), not passive like असह्य; असह (G.) has a passive sense and is derived as above. अलभ (G.), अरप (G.) would be from अलभ्य (Skr.), अरप्य (Skr.); (Pr. अलभ्य, अरप्य.)

(10) साय is a good Skr. word, an abstract noun from सह, if the *Rāmīyaṇa* is taken as an authority. (याद्भावेणापि रामस्य करिष्ये सायमुत्तमम्) *Aṣṭāṅghī-kāṇḍa*, LVIII, 12; See also *Sundara Kāṇḍa*, I-133; 147). Apts does not give साय.

If we take साहाय्य (Skr.) as the original of साय, the य in the Skr. word is of course strong, which is weakened in G..

(11). कल्याणदास. It is only in proper nouns of this type (कल्याणदास &c.) that the conjunct is weakened. कल्याण by itself preserves the strong conjunct.

(12) कलद्रूप.—The द्र is a strong conjunct in Skr.—In G. usage, assisted by hurry in pronunciation, it is weakened and the स is sounded as a syllable of one *r* *tri*.

(18). The *ह* is weakened in daily *tadbhāsa* usage. Cf. वृंशवनि गोपीमधु नाधि। साचो सोदि ब्रह्मचारी॥ (Padmanābha, just quoted above, under (8).); see *supra*, *utsarga* I (क) (in this section of Lecture IV), pp. 290-291 where *ह* is also shown as weak in प्रह्लाद in Bhīma's *Harī-Līlā*.

Note:—It will be noticed that all the words contain a conjunct with *य* as its second member,—except in the case of फलद्रूप and ब्रह्मचारी, where *इ* and *ह* are the second and first members. The conjunct is weakened by the softening of the strong (गुरुप्रयत्न) *य* (semi-consonant as Dr. Harnle would call it) into the weak (लघुप्रयत्न) *य* (semi-vowel, as Dr. Harnle would call it).¹⁷⁶

As regards *इ* and *ह* also, Hémachandra, in his *Chhandonudāsana* (छन्दोऽनुदासन), in *sūtra* 6 of *Adhyāya* I, excludes conjuncts con-

License permitted by Hémachandra as regards the weakening of a conjunct containing *इ* or *ह*; *Chhandonudāsana*, 1-6.

taining *इ* and *ह* from the function of rendering the preceding vowel *guru*; which means that the conjuncts are regarded as weak; as he puts it, एवमतीतिप्रयत्नत्वं संयोगस्य गुरुत्वाभावे हेतुः॥ Not only does he allow this license to Prākṛit prosody, but even to Sanskrit prosody. His

instances speak for themselves:—

- (a) स्पृष्टं त्वयेत्यपह्रियः खलु कीर्तयन्ति ॥
- (b) धनं प्रदानेन श्रुतेन कर्णौ ।
- (c) एतरिवो निहृततीति छदे न कस्य ॥
- (d) तव ह्रियापह्रियो मम ह्रीरभूच्च
उग्रिप्रहेपि द्रुतं न घृता ततः ।
बहुलधामरमेचकतामसं
मम प्रिये क्व समेष्यति तत्पुनः ॥

The license in (a) is just bearable; so also in (b) where the conjunct's being at the beginning of a separate word makes it further bearable. But निहृत as a case of weak conjunct in (c) is hardly fitting and, worse still, (d) heaps up as many as seven instances of license, more or less atrocious. Surely this license

176. See his Introduction to his edition of the *Prākṛita-Lakṣaṇa* p. xxvii, § 4

must belong to a decadent period of Sanskrit literature, wherein classic rigidity had become extremely slack, if these instances indicate a prevailing tendency and not individual license. I notice this state of things as it throws a significant light on the gradual history of this weakening of conjuncts.

UTSARGA VIII

Strengthening of the weak conjunct.

*Strengthening of
a weak conjunct in
certain cases*

(निर्बल सयोग turned into सबल सयोग)

This is the reverse of the last *utsarga*, it may be simply stated thus

In some words a weak conjunct is turned into a strong one in consequence of the य (coming as a second member of the conjunct) being regarded erroneously as a strong य, although it is weak

Examples

| Skr | Guj |
|----------------------|---------|
| अगति | अगरय |
| प्रति | प्रत्ये |
| बाहिनी | बाह्यण |
| (अत्रार) - Pr अत्रार | अत्यार |
| अत्रभार | |

Notes — (a) निर्मल्य and आमन्या are two more words where the य conjunct is strong. The former is formed in a hybrid manner by writing Skr निर्मल्य with Persian माल and giving it a false Sanskrit ring by adding the य at the end. True निर्मल्य is a Skr word but it does not bear the sense of worthless which it bears in Gujarati.

The Sanskrit word निर्मल्य means

- (1) (Adj) Stainless pure
- (2) (Noun) Purity
- (3) The remains of an offering to deity such as flowers.
- (4) Flowers used and cast off. Faded flowers
- (5) Remains in general

The meaning (4) may be argued as the source of नमस्तु by *lakṣhaṇā* but I think it would involve a strain.

The other word, आमन्त्रा, meaning in Guj 'respect', 'obedience,' is not traceable to any known Sanskrit word, it may be a fanciful or erroneous combination of आत्मा and some word connected with मान. This is a mere guess.

(b) प्रत्यक्षा पाली आपणी (*Harī Līlā*, Kāṣā VIII, at 59) presents प्रत्यक्षा with a strong य although originally a weak one, having been evolved from the इ of ति partly because of an erroneous Sanskrit feeling and partly in consequence of the peculiar position of त्य in the word coming as it does between प्र on the one side and क्षा on the other which renders the अ of त्य strong, and this strength reacts on the sound of the य itself perforce.

(c) The following instances may also be noted —

- (1) नवधा खरी वण प्रेमभक्तितथुं बळ छे अत्य,
ते त्रिना रसिक चूडामणि हरि वश न धाये सत्य.

(Dayaram, *Rasika Vallabha*, LVIII, 5).

अत्य, rhyming here with सत्य, contains a strong conjunct, although ordinarily it should be weak.

- (2) जे अजा मध्य वपाध्य रोहली ते जाने अदृश्य,
जयम सुदुर्मां (दि) अनत दीसे रूपनी समृत्य.

(Dayaram).

Here समृत्य, derived from संमृति would ordinarily have त्य as a weak conjunct but the rhyme with दृत्य and metrical value would show it is intended to be strong.

मत्य (from मति) and such words are similarly handled by our old poets, as strong or weak according to metrical necessity.

UISALGA XII

The lengthening of a short vowel without any influence like that of the simplification of a conjunct

Lengthening of a short vowel final or non final, without any co-incident simplification

(a) The non-final, accented, short vowel in some words gets lengthened even when not followed by a conjunct which is simplified,

(b) The final short vowel of *tadbhava* words is generally lengthened.

Examples:—

(a) Non-final vowel.

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. or Dīkṣa | Guj. |
|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| स्तनः | थथ | थान |
| धनिः | (धुनि) | धन ¹⁷⁷ |
| स्वरः | (धर) | सूर ¹⁷⁷ |
| कुंडलं | कुंडलं | कुंडाळ |
| जडं | जडं | जाडं |
| कटकं | कटकं | काळं ¹⁷⁸ |
| तिटकं | तिटकं | टीळं |
| राणिः | राणी | घाण्य ¹⁷⁹ |
| वरं | वरं | वारुं ¹⁸⁰ |
| असोऽभपल्लवः | असोऽभपल्लव | आसोपाटव |

(b) Final vowel.

| | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|------------|
| रामस्य पार्श्वे (०-बन्धे) | रामनि पासद | रामनी पासै |
| अमृतं | अमिअं (अमि) | अमी |
| न | न | ना |

177. The *ध* in धनि and रार first undergoes *samprasādhana*. As I shall show in a subsequent *utarga*, *samprasādhana* is rendered possible when the *य* or *व* is intervocalic, and this condition is supplied in the case of धनि and रार by the intervention of a minute स्वरमणि before the semi-vowel, thus धूँ धनि-सूँ वर. The long *ऊ* in धून, -सूर will then be the result of वङ-उङ. This being a closer analysis of the phonetic process the two words can be excluded from this *utarga*, to be quite accurate.

178. Some derive वारु from वस्य (व). But वस्य does not possess the exact sense of वल and वारु (अमृतमयुरे). Agreeable, auspicious (as a discourse) is what Āptō gives in his Dictionary, against वस्य, and that too as a distant meaning.

179. Āptō gives राणि also, in which case this word may be removed from this list.

180. Some derive वरु from वर्य. But a comparison with M. वरु will favour the derivation from वर्य.

[Notes.—(1) °नी in रामनी पासे is given as a type of a large class of forms. (I owe the tracing of this principle in this type of forms to Mr. K. H. Dhruva's *Vāgvyākāra* P: 5.). Similarly अमिअं is given as a type of the class wherein the second members of a final स्वरसुम्भ gets dropped under the *utsarga* to be given next after the present one.

(2) Some may include अधीन in this *utsarga*. But I exclude it because—

(First), it is not an independent word; only from अधीन as the form which अधि takes as a second member of a compound; and

(Secondly), it is the result of a mis-conception due to the अ obtained by *sandhi* in words like वचनाधीन &c..

(3) M. सासरा from अमुर may be regarded as the result of the principle underlying this *utsarga*.]



The source of this change traceable in Hémachandra's grammar.

The source of the principle of this *utsarga* is found in *Sr. Ht. VIII-i-44* (अतःसमृद्ध्यादी) whereby the अ in the first syllable of words in the *gaṇa* headed by the word समृद्धि is optionally lengthened. This *gaṇa* is stated to be an आहृतिगण, and so स्तन, जह and such words may be referred to it. But it would not be proper to take advantage of this loop-hole unless actual forms like घाण, जाह &c. are found in use in Prākṛit works. For this reason and also because there are cases of ह in this list, and more particularly because all the cases are governed by a special efficient principle to be stated just now, I take this as a new *utsarga*, although it may be allowed to be regarded as an अनुपूर्ति of *Sr-Ht. VIII i 44*.

The underlying causative principle of this change.

The apparent and proximate cause of this lengthening is the change from मध्य to विलम्बित utterance of the vowel concerned. We cannot, however, rest satisfied with such an incomplete explanation; it is almost like a verbal proposition; just like Mr. Kēśavalal H. Dhruva's naming this process as विलम्बनविधान; (see

his *Vāgyāpāra*, P. 6, para 2) which is but a case of thinly veiled tautology. It takes us no farther behind the phonetic phenomenon itself,—certainly not to the principle working as its cause. There are two alternative theories I would suggest as furnishing this creative principle:

(1) *Doubling of the following consonant and simplification of such conjunct.*

I. The doubling of the consonant following the vowel concerned under the principle governing *Si. III. VIII-ii-08, 09* (सैद्यदि and सैद्यदि words being affected thereby) especially as the list concludes with the word इत्यादि.

Yet in the absence of actual usage in Prākṛit, one should hesitate to extend the operation of these *śūtras* to our words. But if such doubling is accepted, then the next step would be the simplification of the conjunct no sooner it came into being and the lengthened vowel would then be explained by the principle of balancing of quantity. This theory would secure स्थापन in as much as there would be no need for this separate *utsarga* as the cases would be covered by the *utsarga* about संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व. There would then be no need for supposing a tautologous विलम्बनविधान either.

(2) *The vowel concerned affected by accent; this theory preferred.*

II. However, ईडाई could not fairly be traced through a supposition ईडहल्लङ्, as this formation is obviously improbable. I think it would be better to see in this विलम्बन utterance

the working of the principle of accent; and this will furnish an alternative principle. And if we examine all the cases in the list (a), we shall find that it is the vowel concerned that bears an accent; this being so, as a natural consequence the vowel is lengthened. I have on set purpose put the word 'accented' in the enunciation of this para (a) of the *utsarga*.

The cause in the case of final vowel lengthening; relief of breath.

As regards the list under (b), words whose final vowels are lengthened, the cause is obvious; It is not convenient for the human breath to stop dead at the end of a word; in

Sanskṛit the highly developed phonetic faculty and training of the

people could conquer this natural tendency, and so we find मधु वारि, and the like with short final vowels. But with the advent of the Prakṛits and still further the *post-Apabhramśa* evolutions, the restraining power of this force of discipline gave way to the overflow of natural liberty and we find the final short vowels lengthened, a sort of relief being secured thereby to the vocal organs

UTSARGA XX

The dropping of the second member of a final स्वरयुग्म and consequent lengthening of the first member.

स्वरयुग्म *dropping of its second member and lengthening of its first member* When, in a *Prākṛit*, *Apabhramśa*, or *transitional form*, there is a स्वरयुग्म (vocalic group) at the end of a word, the second member thereof (whether short or long) is dropped and the first member, if short, is lengthened.

Examplee.

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap or transitional | Guj |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| घृतं | घिभं-घिउ | घी |
| अमृतं | अमिभं-अमिउ | अमी |
| मौक्तिः | मोत्तिभं-मोत्तिउ | मोती |
| लोहितं | लोहिभं-लोहिउ | लोही |
| मधितं ¹⁸¹ | महिभं-महिउ | मही (= curds) |
| पानीय | पाणिभं-पाणिउ | पाणी |
| यज्ञोपवीतं | जण्णोवईअ जण्णोवईअं-जण्णोवईउ | जनोई |

181 मही is generally understood to be the same as दहि in Gujarātī. But मधु=to churn would indicate that churned curds must be the sense, and so Amara tells us —

तक्रमुदधिनमयिन पादाम्भर्षम्बुनिर्जलम् ॥ II ix 53

Curds churned and mixed with $\frac{1}{2}$ part of water is तक्र, with $\frac{1}{2}$ part of water is उदधिय, and without water is मयिय which is known in Gujarātī as मढो.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| ¹⁴² सांस्तरिकं (आहं) | संस्तरिकं-संस्तरिक | समचरी |
| ¹⁴³ वार्षिकं (आहं ?) | वारसिअं-वारसिअ | वरसी |
| ¹⁴⁴ भारिकं or भारिकं | भारिअं-भारिअ | ¹⁴³ भारी (= heavy) |
| इन्द्रियं | इन्द्रिअं-इन्द्रिअ | इंदी |
| आरात्रिकं | आरात्रिअ | आरती (fem.) |

original gender changed;
as in the case of अमी, used
by some in the feminine
gender.)

| | | |
|--------|---|-------|
| अलौकिक | अलौकिअ | अलौकी |
| | ("एतो रीत हमो आज अलौकी एही जो" Dayāram; <i>Dānarchāturi</i> , st. 18). | |

| | | |
|---------|----------------|-------|
| अतुलितं | अतुलिअं अतुलिअ | अतुली |
|---------|----------------|-------|

(In अतुलीचउ-Old

Guj. literature "सायवंत सिरोमणि हे अतुलीचउ ने अभेद" --

Sitarati-nu-Rāsa, II-x-1)

| | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| मरिचं | मरिअं-मरिअ | मरी (= pepper) |
| गान्धियः | गंधिओ-गंधिअ | गंधी |
| ¹⁴⁴ सैलिकः | सैलिओ-सैलिअ | सैली |
| घण्टिः | घण्टिओ-घण्टिअ | घण्टी |
| दुधिकः | दुधिओ-दुधिअ | दुधली |
| वृत्ता | वरिअ (Ap.), वरिअ (O. W. R.), वरी | |

(This represents, as a type, the class of forms in स्वा termination).

142. The word थाइ disappears just as एइ disappears in giving सासु from ससु (कं एइम् (See *supra*, P. 229, n. 84, for this sense of ससु in Hemschandra's time.)

143 भा+इअ (termination) Hemschandra uses भारिक; see his gloss on *Deśi-śāstra*, vol. II, P. 100. *Varāha* has वर-आह, and भारी=heavy. The word भारी is more commonly used in G. than भारी, भारी, like वफो, derives an adjectival sense through the instrumental form of भार (वफो being वफो) which idiom turns it by a twist of thought into an भारिकारी विशेष.

144. मोषी (= a shoe-maker) must be from some Dēśya word like a conjunctural मोरिषो; for Kāshmiri has मोर=shoe, Sindhi has मोरान=shoes, Guj. मोरनी may be compared, also मोरु=shoes.

| | | |
|--|-------------------|---|
| शुक्: | *वरओ-वरउ | वरु |
| (*—because Hemachandra has no rule for this) | | |
| (Deśya) रुअं | रउ | रु (=cotton) |
| („) वरअं | वरउ | वरु (=a reed) |
| („) कोलहुओ | कोलहुउ | कोलहु (a sugar-cane-pressing machine) |
| कामरूप: | कामरुओ } कामरउ | कामरु (देश) |
| वपदिंका | ववडिआ | काढी |
| वालिका | वालिआ | वाळी |
| पुस्तिका | पोत्पिआ | पोपी |
| विजुल्लता | विजुल्लिआ-विजुलिआ | वीजळी |
| रडिका | रडिआ | रळी |
| मशिका | मक्खिआ | मापी |
| मृत्तिका | मट्टिआ | मारी |
| शलाका | सलाभा } सलिआ | शळी |
| | (Deśya) अलिआ | अली (a term of address to a female friend). |
| | („) ओसरिआ | अशिरी |
| | | (=a verandah) |
| पाद: | पार्आ-पाउ | पा |
| सपाद | सपारओ-सपाउ | सवा |
| घात. | घाओ-घाउ | घा |
| प्रतिघात | पडिघाओ-पडिघाउ | पडघा |
| वात* | वाओ-वाउ | वा |
| धान्याक | धनार्अ-धनारउ | धाना ¹⁸⁵ |

185 The final form, धान्य, having the appearance of the plural number of a masculine noun ending in ओ, this word is mistaken for such and by a reverse process, धाओ is constructed as an original word in the singular number

| | | |
|---------|-------------------|--------------------|
| कलापः | कलायो-कलायु-कलाव | कळा ¹⁸⁶ |
| गृहा | गृभा | गू |
| गोषा | गोदा घोभा | पो |
| जलीकः | जलीभा | जळो (=leech) |
| गुह्यी | गलोई | गळो |
| माता | माई | मा |
| अनुयोगः | अणुजोभो अणुजोउ | अणूजो |

(=a non-working day,
used in reference to
masons, carpenters &c.)

Notes:—

(a) By tracing the final form to the Apabhransa formation in उ, in the case of words ending in अं, we always secure a pure स्वरयुग्म (i. e. इउ, instead of इअं).

(b) The first member in the स्वरयुग्म must be any vowel but अ; a glance at the instances will show this. A स्वरयुग्म with अ as its first vowel will give different results; e. g.

| | | |
|--------|------|------|
| समयः | समउ | समो |
| पोटकः | पोटउ | पोरो |
| भयः | भउ | भा |
| मृतकः | मददं | महुं |
| हरीशरी | हरई | हरे |
| करोति | करइ | करे |
| करोतु | करउ | करो |

Only in Hindi and Marāṭhi the अउ group drops the उ and lengthens the अ. e. g. पोटउ (Ap.), पोटा (M. and H.). This feature has been explained already before (See *supra*, pp. 215, 216). The

186. The *विस्तार* of a peacock is meant here, by a sort of *सुस्त*, and that too to express the feathers as spread out by the peacock. *कम* is mistaken as a feminine noun ending in आ as *कम* G. is used in the feminine order.

accent on the અ leads to the dropping of the ઉ in H. and M. and to the *prati-samprasāraṇa* of ઉ in G., which further leads to the અર્ધવિવૃત્ત ઓ.

(c) The steps through which words ending in હા and આઓ pass in the list above are these:—

હા—હઅ—હ
આઓ—આઉ—આ

In the case of આઉ, Hindi and Marāṭhi have *prati-samprasāraṇa* of ડ a. g. પાઉ—પાવ; ઘાઉ—ઘાવ.

(d) The lengthening of the residual first member of the સ્વરયુગ્મ is due to the operation of the causative principle affecting the last preceding *utsarga* XIX-(h) assisted by the additional factor of the principle of balance of quantity by way of compensation for the loss of the second member.

There is another possible explanation, but I mention it only to reject it as it is a little far-fetched and not in harmony with the set of phonetic principles hitherto established, such as balance of quantity, influence of accent and the like. It is this: હઅ, ડઅ become હવ, ડવ by *sandhi* or insertion of વ, વ as *āgama*, and the વ, વ undergo *samprasāraṇa*, thus giving હ+હ, ડ+ડ leading to હૃ, ડ.

(e) ચી and ચીપું, પા and પાપો (the sense being altered in this latter case, પા=one quarter and પાપો=1. a leg; 2. a foundation)—may at first sight seem to present an alternative operation of the *utsarga*; but really it is not so. ચી is from ચીનં-ચીડ; while ચીપું is from ચીનકં-ચીનડં-ચીઅવં. Similarly પા is from પાદઃ, પાડ, while પાપો is from પાદકઃ, પાપડ.

But there are some real exceptions of a partial nature, like ગહ and ઘડં; ગહ from ગહઆ, ગહિઆ. યથિઆ, not lengthening the હ although the second member આ is dropped; and ઘડં from ઘડંડ, ગટંવ, ગોટંડ, ગોટંડુ, ગોટંમ, ગોટંમઃ, shortening the first member (ક). The reason seems to be the accent on ગ and ઘ, which prevents the lengthening of the હ and causes the shortening of the ડ to ડં.

M. लोणी is an instance of the operation of the present *utsarga*: नानीनं, 157 लोणीभं, लोणी.

UTSARGA XXI

य् and व् *dgamas* in certain circumstances. There is an *utsarga* allied by way of opposition to the last preceding *utsarga*. It is this:—

(a) When the second member of a final स्वरयुग्म is not dropped a य् comes in as an *dgama* after ह्, and व् after उ.

There is an independent *utsarga* about such an *dgama* which may be conveniently placed here:

(b) An unaccountable *dgama* व् comes in to strengthen the vowel or semi-vowel in certain words.

Examples:—

(a)

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. (Dīśya) गिरिभं | गिरिभं | Ooj. |
|----------------|------------------------------|----------|----------|
| लघुवक्: | लघुभउ | लघुवउ | लघुवो |
| बहुवक्: | बहुभउ | बहुवउ | बहुवो |
| वाग्विक् (+क्) | वाग्विभउ | वाग्विपउ | वाग्वियो |
| लघुवक् | दलभउं | दलउउं | दलउं |
| गुरुवक् | गदभउं | गदउउं | गदउं |
| कटुवक् | कदभउं | कदउउं | कदउं |

(b)

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------|
| प्रत्येवक्: | परसेभउ | परसेउउ | परसेवो |
| लाभक्: | लाहउ | ल्हाभउ ल्हाउउ | ल्हायो |
| प्रोवक्: | प्रोपउं | | परोउं |
| निष्प्रेनितक् | निष्प्रेवोहभउं | | निष्प्रेउं |

[एत नीषोय तिरां तत वाडि *Dhalla's Kādambarī, Pūrā-śāgā; Kaṣṭhārān XV, l. 200*].

नीषोय is here a stage before the advent of the *dgama*, ह्.

157. नानीनं;—extending to this the principle underlying Sl. II. VIII-4-170, we secure नोनीभं; the change of न to ञ is prevalent in the post-Apabhramśa stage; and so लोनीभं.

| | | | |
|------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| आयातरः | आयाअउ | आयो | आव्यो |
| विग्रहितकं | विग्रहिअउं | विग्रहअउं | धगोन्यं |

[Āptê gives only विग्रह=censured; reproached; from which विग्रह=to censure; to reproach, may be constructively accepted.]

(1) "मृष्टि सरं वगोई" (*Prémānanda, Nalākhyaṇa, Br. Kāvya Dohāna*, P. 196).

(2) वळी विगोइ विनिध परे रति संदरी थइ तेह

(*Silaratī-no-Rāsa, VI-xvi-duho* 8.)

वगोई here shows the stage without the *āgama*.]

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------|------------------------|
| विलोडितकं | विलोडिअउं | विलोइअउं | वलोण्यं (=churned). |
|-----------|-----------|----------|------------------------|

[This is a conjectural derivation, in so far as the elision of *ट* is not of common occurrence. But there are fairly good grounds for bringing this case under an exception; विलोडणे (*Sindhi*) means "to churn"; Āptê in his *Skr.-Eng. Dictionary* gives विलोडनं with the meanings—*agitating stirring, churning*; and for विलोडितं the sense—*butter-milk*.]

In these instances, i. e. of इय, उव the process may with equal correctness be called that of the ordinary *sandhi* change of इ to इय and उ to उव. As however, *Sl. Hē. VIII-i-8*, स्वस्स्योद्वृत्ते and *VIII-i-6* नयवर्णम्यान्वे has such *sandhi* operation, the introduction of this *āgama* is fictioned here. Otherwise, it is open to us to say that these prohibitive *sūtras* of Hēmachandra are imperative in post-Apabhramśa changes of this kind. Yet, I think, the *āgama* theory is more true to nature.

UTSARGA XXII

संप्रसारण Samprasāraṇa.

Samprasāraṇa;
its conditions.

This phonetic process is as old as Sanskrit, but its operation in post-Apabhramśa formations, and the principles governing it, are what we are concerned with here. The following enunciation of this *utsarga* will explain the position:—

व् to उ—

| | | |
|----------------------------|----------|--------------------|
| ध्वनि | (direct) | धून ¹⁹¹ |
| स्वर | " | सुर ¹⁹¹ |
| दि | " | दूर ¹⁹¹ |
| (in दुभाषियो, दुपट्टो &c) | | |
| सुवर्णक } 191 स्वर्णक } | सुवण्णउ | सुण्णउ |
| | | सुव |

191 धून=*an obsession, a possession of the mind*, for, ध्वनि=*a sound the continuous resonance, as that of a bell after ringing*, cf the sense of ध्वनि in *Alankāra Śāstra*, viz व्यङ्ग्य which is based on this simile. Thus a thing, an idea which keeps continuously ringing in the head, as it were.

The व् and यू in ध्वनि, स्वर, दि, व्यक्ति, धूर्त are apparently not intervocalic. But an intervocalic situation is first obtained by the intervention of something like a minute स्वरभक्ति, thus—

स्वरभक्ति, part धूर्तवनि, सुस्वर, दूर्ति, वूर्त्यक्ति, धूर्तय. This स्वरभक्ति may played by it in be taken as of ६th mādā samprasāraṇa in certain words.

It partakes of the nature of विप्रकर्ष as well as that of स्वरभक्ति, for the interpolated vowel in स्वरभक्ति is अ or ए, whereas in विप्रकर्ष it is the same vowel as that of the conjunct syllable broken up (तत्स्वरत्वात् of Pr. Prak III 59), or अ, इ or उ according to Hémachandra (VIII is 100 to 115). In our instances the interpolated vowel is उ or इ and so far it resembles विप्रकर्ष, while the measure of the interpolated vowel is ६th mādā and herein it resembles स्वरभक्ति. I prefer to call this a case of स्वरभक्ति because of this small length of the interpolated vowel, though we have a model in Pr. धूर्तव (Skr. खर्तव). In fact all cases of विप्रकर्ष are but a further development of the Vedic स्वरभक्ति. In the case of transition of words into the vernaculars, the Vedic स्वरभक्ति is imported only as a natural principle and hence the variation in the conditions from Vedic times to the modern vernacular period.

दूर is found in Hindi. दो in ordinary Hindi is either from dropping the इ, yielding दू, or allied to Persian दू-दो. Gujarātī has दू only as a पूर्वपद of *samāsas* like दुपट्टो &c, probably borrowed from Hindi.

स्वर्ण may be regarded as undergoing स्वरभक्ति in turning into सुवर्ण. पोरी=1 a big bullock, 2 principal, e.g. पोरी માળી, a high road.

For detailed genesis of *samprasāraṇa* See Note B to Lecture IV, section I, *supra*, pp. 279-80.

| सर्वः | सद्यु | सर | सव | सौ; | सद् |
|---------------|---|------------|-----------------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| सद्यवर्णकं | सद्यवर्णकं | सद्यवर्णकं | { सद्यवर्णकं सद्यवर्णकं } | | सद्यु |
| प्रतिवेशी } | { प-पादिवेसी ¹⁹² प-पादवसी } | | { पदवसी पादवसी } | | { पदोमी पादोमी } |
| प्रतिमासी } | | | | | |
| कपपट्टिका | कसवट्टिका | | { कसवट्टी कसजट्टी } | | कसोट्टी |
| कुंडुमपत्रिका | कंकवतरी | | { कंकवतरी कंकजतरी } | | कंकोटरी |
| काटपत्रिका | | | { काटवतरी काटजतरी काटजतरी } | | काळोटरी |

NOTES:—

(a) Dr. Tessitori ("Notes", § 52) gives, amongst instances of *samprasāraṇa*,

अभितर < अभ्यन्तर
भवि < भव्य
विहारी < भव्यहारी
उपन < उपम

But these are all cases of *स्वरभक्ति* first and *samprasāraṇa* afterwards. He does not mention the condition about *ए* and *उ* being intervocalic, and the idea of *स्वरभक्ति* must have escaped his notice.

If *दि*, *द्वरि*, *दुरि*, *दुर* (by elision of *वृ*) are accepted as the steps (instead of *द्वरि*, *द्वर्य-दुर*) this instance must be excluded from *samprasāraṇa*. The case of *द्वरि-दुर्* (through *द्वरि*), as cited by *Mārkaṇḍeya (Pṛthivī-saṁhita, III, 96)* would seem to lend support to this view, there being no chance of *samprasāraṇa* in *दुर्*.

192. The *मि* here becomes *पि* or *पि* optionally under the principle governing *Si. III. VIII-44 मयः समुदयसि वा* where *समुदयसि* is stated to be an *आकृष्टि*, and three instances with *मि* are given (*मि*, *मि*, *मि*). *मि* is also a possible origin for *पानेमी*; but not very probable.

(b) As stated at the outset, *samprasāraṇa* is a process as old as Sanskrit. इयं यः संप्रसारणम्, Pāṇini I-i-45, gives the definition, and the cases where the change occurs are scattered over the language in various places.

Comparison of samprasāraṇa in Sanskrit formations and that in post-Apabhraṃśa formations

The conditions governing *samprasāraṇa* in Sanskrit are somewhat different, e. g. वच्-reduplicated perfect 3rd person singular is उवाच, wherein the व of उवाच gets *samprasāraṇa*; it is purely initial and not intervocalic. (The reason probably is the close neighbourhood of the two वकारा). ऊचुः (dual), ऊचुः (plural) present a different set of circumstances. उवाचुः, उवचुः—here the व has an अ instead of an आ in it, and the strong preserving power of the long आ is lost, and also the व् is intervocalic.

विद्यति-विद् from व्यच् can be distinguished from व्यथते-व्यथित thus:—In the former the व्य and द् are conjuncts and render the pronunciation of व्य rather difficult and hence a स्वरभक्ति splits the व्य into व्ह्य and the intervocalic य् gets *samprasāraṇa*. In the latter, the simple थ presents no initial difficulty.

In विद्मस्-विदुषः-विदुषा &c. अनद्वाह्-अनदुहः-अनदुहा and the like, स्वरभक्ति (विद्^वस्, अनद्^ववाह् &c.) is a precedent latent step evidently.

However, it is not possible to go into an analysis of all cases of *samprasāraṇa* in Sanskrit formations which stand by themselves apart. I only indicate the line of inquiry where an explanation is possible. But I have an idea that an essential common principle is bound to be discovered running through all cases, Sanskrit, Prākṛit as well as post-Apabhraṃśa transitional.

I conclude the second section of Lecture IV here, and shall treat in the third and the last section the remaining *utargat* of comparatively minor importance.

APPENDIX A.

(Lecture IV, Section II, page 285; note 3.)

म्होदं—Its derivation.*I derive म्होदं as under:—*

मह् (क)—Skr.—महन्तं (Pr.); this is the form shown under the गोणादि निपाताः in *Si. III. VIII-ii-174*. Then the following intermediate steps:—

महन्तं—by loss of the nasal, as per class (O) *utsarga II*, Lecture IV, Section II.

महदं—the dental being changed to the corresponding cerebral under the principle underlying *Si. III. VIII-ii-29, 30*.

महुदं—under स्वराणां स्वराः प्रायोऽप्यंते, *Si. III. VIII-ii-329*.

म्हदं—the ह being shifted towards the initial syllable, as I have shown in Appendix B. *infra*. See Class (B) *Utsarga I*, (क)-(a) (Lecture IV, Section II.)

Then अउ is changed to ओ (narrow; because the उ is strong on account of the subsequent conjunct; see my discussion of वितृप्त अ-आ in Lecture IV, Section I); which gives म्होदं; and, then, the conjunct being simplified, we have—म्होदं.

It will be seen in the above derivation that each step is supported by some verified law or other.

Mr. Kefaralil H. Dhruva, in his essay, *Vāgyāpāra, Anupīti II*), traces मोदं (he is for the aspirate-less form 'and so मोदं) as under:—

महदं (he apparently ignores the form, महन्तं), then he theorises thus:

The हकार in this word being akin in its aspiration to the *visarga*, it is used up in a *sandhi* process similar to the one which the *visarga* undergoes, viz: the change to उ and, with the preceding अ, combination into ओ, thna मोअट्ठं, then मोट्ठं—मोट्ठं.

To my mind there are several defects in this theorizing: thus—

- (a) We do not know of any other cases wherein such *visarga*-like mutations are gone through *internally* in the body of a word; the guess is really strange and unwarranted.²
- (b) मउअट्ठं has the उ unaccented and the natural result would be a वितृत आ and not a narrow ओ; for, whatever the tendency in Sanskrit may be, in the post-Prākṛit evolution अउ invariably tended to result (through अउ)

2. Under Pāṇini VIII-11-66 a final स् (and the final of सञ्जप्) become र्; this र् undergoes one of two changes —

- (a) *visarga*, when followed by the letters symbolized as सर्, or at the end of a word, o. g. रामस्=राम+र्=रामः, रामः कथयति, पठति etc. (खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः VIII-11-15).
- or (b) उ when it is between two अन्तुत अः (अतोरोऽन्तुतदन्तुते VI-1-113), and when followed by हन् (हन्ति च VI-1-114), रामोऽस्ति; रामो गच्छति; तपोवन, etc..

None of these conditions are present in the case of महत्. Mr. K. H. Dhruva says ह is changed to a *visarga*; but a *visarga* cannot exist *internally* in a word, the ह्रस्व and the subsequent उ happen (not to ह, but to स् and the final of सञ्जप्) at the *end* of a word, or before the initial ह्रस्व group of letters. This shows that even if Mr. K. H. Dhruva bases his theory on a mere analogy, the change in question cannot occur *internally* in the body of a word. Considering the phonetic principle embodied in the process, I can see no justification for such an analogy. Even granting that Pāṇini prescribes the *visarga* changes and subsequent उत to the स् and not to ह only for the sake of his peculiar *extra-scheme* and that the real phonetic process involves the change of the aspiration inherent in a *visarga* to उ, the difficulty about the internal change remains unaffected महत् is not capable of any *antit splitting up* into मह+अट्.

into the wide *अ* sound when the *उ* was unaccented, if it did not remain split up as *अउ*.³

- (c) A comparison with Marāṭhī मोठें will show that, at least there, the *हू* is visible in union with the *उ* into *ठ*, and has not spent itself in the imaginary *visarga*-process and the change of the *visarga* into *उ*. The ओ (in मोठें),—be it noted as eloquent against Mr. K. H. Dhruva's theory,—is secured without such a process, keeping the *ह* alive still: महुट्ठं-मउट्ठं-मोठें.

It may be incidentally stated here that while मोट्ट (without the aspirate) is seen in several manuscripts of old works in Gujarātī, the form with the aspirate (मोट्टो and the like) is, in some form or other, also in evidence equally; e. g.

- (1) एक मोट्टो सरोवर छे

(*Gadya-Bhāgaratī*; date unknown, but believed to be much earlier than the *Vachanāmṛta* of Saṅkṣiṇanda Svāmī).

2. मोट्टो राव पोलणा (Do. Do.)⁴

3. राज नमनेनि निदिदि जैमुन्यने छं मारा मोट्टो छय

(*Chandrabhāsa-Aṭṭhāna*, by Viṣṇudāsa, year of copy, V. S. 1732).

1. आपणने दुप मोट्टो पर

(*Daftra Standard*; by Kṛṣṇa Hridāram, composed in V. S. 1529, copy written in Kachcha in V. S. 1787; Sarga XV. St. 30.)

³ It may be contended in reply that मउट्टं may have turned into मउट्टं, and then the *उ* being strong the ओ would be narrow. However, the initial law regarding the impossibility of *ह* undergoing a *visarga*-like process upsets the whole theory. And it is no use imagining such transformations, as मउट्टं to मउट्टं,—not unlikely in themselves, but out of place under these conditions.

⁴ These two instances (1 and 2) are taken from a paper read by Mr. Chhaganlāl V. Pāvāla, a retired school master, before the 4th Gujarātī Sahitya Parishad, on "*Gujarātī Bāhāṣā Ketāhī Satkāṇḍa ki Jalsā*" (1st Report, pp. 98, 101).

5. હૈ દેમની કાંકણી માત મ્હોટી

(Ibid, Sarga, XIV, St. 15)

and in several other places* in the same work. No. 5 is noteworthy, for it has મ્હ as a conjunct, which is exceptional.

(This work, *Dafama Slandha*; by Keśava Hridērām, was shown to me by Mr. Ambālāl B. Jānī; it belongs to the collection of Mss. in the possession of the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā, Bombay).

(6) Similarly a Ms. of Sāmala's *Sinhāsana Darśī* (date of copy V. S. 1796) also contains the spelling મોહોટું pretty frequently.

(7) A Manuscript copy of Prāmānanda's *Vrajavallī*, now in my possession, written in V. S. 1842, has

(૧) મોહોદાં મોકલ્યાં મંદિર જંવા અવાસ જી (St. 274).

(૨) મોહોદાં મન્યે કરીને આપ્યાં વઢુ દાન જી (St. 167).

(૩) રૂપ છે સામર્થ્ય ગુણ છે મોહોટ્ટા (St. 236).

These instances are picked up at random.

(8) માદા મોહોટો તાપસ જાંજે

(*Dhrura-Charitra*, V. S. 1637; I-20).

(also it has મોટું elsewhere.)

(9) તે દુપ મારે પતં દુપ મોહોટું

Virdā-parva, by Nākar, 1601 V. S; copied in 1785 V. S.; IV-20).

(It has also મોટા-મોટું elsewhere; also મોહોદા.)

(10) સાજ સહિત પધારણો દ્વે મોહોટોતો કરવા રે

Olharharāṇa, by Nākara, V. S. 1810 year of copy).

Over and above all this, the aspirated form has been prevalent in private correspondence and other documents and in text books till its artificial abolition by the Educational Department over

6. I give two more instances below—

કોહા મોહોટા કરિ મેઘ સવાન (conclusion, St 122), હરિ કોનક મોહોટો મહિમાવ (conclusion, St 116).

forty years ago, when a Committee framed what is known as the Hopo Series of Reading Books. But in spite of this, outside the range of the influence of the Department, *म्हो* is found in vogue.

Thus, against occasional omission of the *हकार* in some old *Maas*. (and the practice started by the arbitrary action of the Educational Department during the last four decades), we have a full chain of consistent acceptance of the *हकार* in *म्हो*, beginning from the source in Sanskrit, continued through the *Prākṛit*, *Apabhramśa* and post-*Apabhramśa* languages, and maintained in practice amongst the past generations, and supported by actual pronunciation even at present.

APPENDIX B

To Lecture IV, Section II

(See P. 292, n. 17)

Reasons why I hold that the *हकार* generally shifts towards the beginning of a word.

The late Mr. Navalrām Lakshmīrām discussed this question elaborately and ably in his examination of the system of spelling recognised by the Educational Department of the Bombay Presidency; (*Vide Gujarāt Sāla Patra*, A. D. 1872, March and subsequent issues, or *Navalagranthāvalī*, III, pp. 26-32.) He rightly discarded the spelling which avoided the *हकार*, e. g. *वेन* for *वेन*; and then considered the merits of different alternative modes of writing, viz.

(a) *वेन*, *वेन*;

(b) *वेन*;

and (c) *वेन*

After giving reasons for rejecting the rest, he approved of (c) *वेन* and, strangely enough, recommended the option of writing *वेन*, thus indicating the aspiration by a mere sign of apostrophé. I have fully discussed this question in my booklet on Gujarāt spelling, published as a supplement to the *Desai-Prakāśa* in

A D 1888 I shall only confine myself here to giving briefly the reasons for holding that the **ह**कार generally moves towards the beginning of words. I may premise here that the sound of this **ह**कार being weak (स्वुप्रयत्न), its exact location remains involved in doubt, though a careful observer will have no hesitation in fixing the place of the aspiration. Now, the reasons —

- (I) To begin with to a careful observer the aspirate sound is heard in the initial syllable,
- (II) Secondly the किरुत sound of अ-अ in words like **हृद**, **हृदित** furnishes an indirect indication that the **ह** has moved towards the beginning, e g **भगिनी-वदिनी** **पृथुल-पटुल**. Here to leave the **अह-अउ** and subsequent evolutes **अप्-अर्** the **ह** shifting to the beginning (**हृदणी-हृदल**) creates a free road for the conditions of the wide sound, which would not be so well created by the **ह** shifting end ward or in any other way,
- (III) Words like **हमणा** (from **अधुना-अदुणा**) are even now written with the **ह** in the beginning. This is a very significant fact,
- (IV) The change of **ग** to **घ** in words like **घेरु** (from Skr **गभीर** Ap **गहीर**), **घउ** (Skr **गोष्म** Ap **गोष्टु**), **घडो** (Skr **गृहीत** Ap **गहिण**), **घो** (Skr **गोषा**, Pr **गोहा**), **भेंस** (Skr **महिषी**, Pr **महिती**), **घयडो-घरडो** (Skr **जरड**, Ap **जरड**, (later) **गरड**), and the like possess the aspiration undoubtedly in the beginning
- (V) Lastly, the word **ह्राउ** furnishes, in its course from **ह्रणक** through the various evolutes, a clear indication of the upward movement of the **ह**कार, thus **ह्रणक** **हण्ड** **नदंड**, here if the **ह** moves towards the beginning **हदंड**, then only the preservation of quantity would require the lengthening of the **अ** in the first syllable and give us **ह्राउ**, if the **ह** remained in the latter part of the word, the condition for lengthening the **अ** and thereby

preserving the quantity would not be created; unless it be held that the weakening of the ह gives rise to such a condition; नन्हडे (strong ह), नन्हडे (weak ह rendering the first syllable short, and therefore) नान्हडे. However, with the undeniable evidence of घेह, घो, घँडे etc. and हमणां etc., it is not easy to accept a divergence of evolutionary process in words like न्हडे so as to yield नान्हडे.



LECTURE IV

SECTION III

The History of the Gujarātī Language—Its Evolution

(Concluded)

I now take up a series of *utsargas* of minor importance and shall note them quickly in this section, which I may call an omnibus section, as I shall not wait to classify them under A, B, C, as I did in the case of *utsargas* treated in the previous sections, or to enter into elaborate discussions in connection with them.

UTSARGA I

પ્રોપ

(Interpolation of a letter.)

In several words an adventitious letter is interpolated; such letters being ह, ए, य, इ. Of these the interpolation of ह is treated in section II, *Utsarga* I (ह), and that of ए and य in section II *Utsarga* XXI (see pp. 281, 308-12, and 419 *supra*). The प्रोप of इ is foreshadowed in Apabhraṃśa, see Bl. Hō. VIII-iv-309 (अभूतोऽपि कश्चिद्).¹ But the instances in Apabhraṃśa are few, whereas in Gujarātī they are varied.

Examples.

- (1) કરદારી } (=sarcasm) G.—from કરાપ (Skr.), કરદન
 (કરદારી) }
 (Pr.)—કરદારી-ગી. (કરાપ=a sidelong glance; looking askance; hence, in Gujarātī, by *lālshand*, sarcasm).
- (2) સાંતરે (G.); =સાંત્રે (loc.), +ર thrown in.
 (The analogy of રાતરે (સાંત્રે) may have something to do with the પ્રોપ here).

1. A faint but significant foreshadowing may be traced as far back as the *Āk-Pṛthivīśākhya* period. See that *Pṛthivīśākhya*, IV-68, 69, which deal with an interpolated इ after a य in certain cases, e. g. यनीय+ययोमि=यनीययोमि: &c.. It is usual to view this इ as a nasalized evolve of य itself rather than a प्रोप; but I note it as a faint precursor of the यनूयोऽपि कश्चिद् of later ages, if it be permissible to take that as a

- (3) પડસુ (G) = side from પડકું (Skr.), પડસું (Ap), પ્રસડું, પ્રસડ, પરસુ, પડસુ
 (4) કરોડ (G) = ten million, — from કોટિ (Skr.), કોડી (Pr), કોડી, કરોડ
 (5) સરાળ (G) = a lathe, from શાળ (Skr.), સાળ (Pr), સાળ સરાળ
 (6) શૂડુ (G) = to be pleased, from શુટ (Skr.), શુટ (Pr.), શુટ, શૂટ (હુ)

“આજ મોતીદે મેહુલા શૂડ્યા,
 ઘણ હોવ તણા નાથ શૂડ્યા”

(*Dalapatrām*)

“માહિધી નીકળી પડિયો દાર,
 સતીને શૂડ્યા વિશ્વાધાર.”

(*Premloanda Naluklyina*)

“જાણે ભાવરવો મહત્તી ઉઠયો રે,
 શાકી સાકીનું લ્યો દુ શૂડયો રે”

(*Navasam, Bāla-Garab uali*)

- (7) મરણશુ (rural G) = to eat, (e g રહેને મરણી મરણે), from મરૂ (Skr.), મરણ (Pr), મરણ, મરણ (હુ)
 (8) નાગરવેલ (G) = beetle-leaf creeper, from નાગરવી (Skr.), નાગરવેલી (Pr) — નાગરવેલ
 (9) આપ (G amongst uneducated classes) from શાપ (Skr) — direct-આપ
 (10) ગણતરી (G), from ગણિતિ (Skr), — direct-ગણિત્રી, ગણતરી (This may be the source of the Gujarati termination તરી, તર, in મળતર, યજ્ઞતર, ચળતર etc.).
 (11) કરાણી (G) = a piece forming the lower part of the sleeve of a woman's bodice, from કરાણ (Skr) કરાણી, કરાણી (Pr), કરાણી, કરાણી, કરાણી (કરણ = arm-pit *See* *Abullana-Chintāma* : III 25^o કરાણ also = arm pit. See *Abullana-Chintāma* : III 25^o શોભેલ સળિદવા કરાણ પાશં મ્યાદિતયોરપ II)

2 નાગરવેલ is called નાગરવેલી in Kanaree districts this, however, must be from નાગર (genitive plural) of નાગ in Kanaree the plural being out of respect for *Nāga* as a god

- (12) कपोत (G) — a pigeon, a dove, from कपोत (Skr), कपोन (Pe — but with *π* retained), कपोतर. (For an alternative derivation and the affinity with Persian कपोतर see *supra* P. 309, n. 33)

Note — The steps in these formations are,

- (1) addition of *र* and then
- (2) रिष्टेय of the conjunct so formed.

The only exceptions are —

वृद्धु where there is no रिष्टेय, and नागरखेल where there is no conjunction with *र*, but a *र* (*र* with *अ*) is interpolated separately.

These are instances of प्रथेय of *र*. There are rare instances where other consonants are interpolated, these are—

- (13) आसनासमना (G), from आभासना (Skr),
- (14) रिपसिप (G), from रिमिप (Skr.)

[Notes—(a) In the case of the प्रथेय of *र* the reason may be sought in a desire to Sanskritize the word, as in भाष, by creating an elaborate conjunct. I have heard a man say दधणी for दधणी and am told of others saying गणपति for गणपति. I have seen घेरपी for घेरपी (Persian) and प्रभात्ताप for पभात्ताप in a respectable Gujarati newspaper article. After this one need not regard as an exaggeration the story of an illiterate village Brahmana showing off his pretended learning by saying घेटी ग्रीटियेपी अगोटियु दायो for the pure, simple Gujarati-घेटी ग्रीटियेपी अगोटियु दायो

(b) Tessitori, "Notes" § 31, deals with the प्रथेय of *र*, his instances (such as घट्ट, घट्टण्ड), however, ignore the insertion of this *र* in Apabhraṃśa itself (as observed in *St. H.* VIII iv 329). Dr. Tessitori's observation that this *र* is added more commonly to *ग*, *झ*, *च*, *ज* and *ख* is suggestive.]

In the case of (13) and (14) a mere tendency to juggle seems to give आसनासमना and रिपसिप

UTSARGA II

The अ and आ endings of feminine words.

At pge 222 *supra*, in the Note at the end of *Utsarga II*,—I promised to deal with this *utsarga* as belonging to class O. Instead of putting this *utsarga* in the preceding section I prefer to note it here, as it is one of minor importance.

Enunciation—In Gujarātī feminine words in अ are traceable either to Skr. words ending in आ or in इ or ई. Feminine words ending in आ are either तत्सम or derived ordinarily or by false analogy or from Persian.

Examples.

ज्वाला (Skr.), जाला (Pr.), झाल (Guj.); कला (Skr.), कल (Pr.), कळ (Guj.);

माता—direct—मात; वार्ता—वत्ता—यात; माळा—माळा—भाळ;
 खचा—तजा—तज; जिन्हा—जिन्हा—जीभ; लज्जा—लज्जा—लाज;
 बाढा—बाढा—बाळ; वृषा—(तरिस्ता through तर्पति—तरिस्तइ)—तरश;
 शुभ्रा—मुक्खा—भूख; लाधा—लाकखा—लास; कक्षा—कक्खा—फास;
 भिधा—भिकसा—भीख; सिधा—सिक्खा—शीख; आज्ञा—आणा—आण.

कदली—केली—केळ; नारी—नारी—नार; वल्ली—वेल्ली—वेढ;
 कुक्षि—कुक्खी—कूख; मगिनी—वहिणी—ईन; अक्षि—अक्खी—आंटय.

Words ending in आ—

माळा (ordinarily derived); बाळा (ordinarily derived);
 दया, धमा, कृपा etc. (तत्सम);
 धजा—from ध्वज; (feminine ध्वजा by false analogy).

Pernan.

मन्ना; सजा; कम्मा; etc.

UTSARGA III

उकारान्त and उकारान्त nouns.

In Gujarātī, words in the neuter gender have the nasalized उ ending generally; but there are certain words, in that gender, without the nasal, i. e. with a pure उ ending.

Examples:—

आहुं, गाहुं, पोहुं, &ca. &ca. &ca.;—these end in a nasalized उ.

लीहुं, जाहुं, यहु, पैहु, रताहु, आहु, रियाहु (=night time meal),—and such words end in an उ without nasalization.

The reason for this distinction is obvious: viz: while the nasalized उ occurs in consequence of the अहं (Skr.), अहं (Ap.) endings, the words with the pure उ ending have no such history. The consequence is that आहुतुं (for आराहुतुं) would be as incorrect an inflectional form as लीराहुतुं (for लीराहुतुं).

UTSARGA IV

Change of व to ब.

An uninitial व (dento-labial) is changed to ब (labial).

Examples:—

(1) द्वि-(वि, वद्)-वे; (2) द्वितीयक-विद्वज्जो-वीजो; (3) द्वार-वाहु-वार; (4) द्वारदर-वारद(रं)-वारधुं; (5) ज्वलति-(यल्ह)-बटे (ले); (6) उपविगति-उपवृत्तद्, उपवृत्तद्-बेले; (7) अपत्यं-अपत्यं-बन्धुं; (8) योजनं-जोष्य, जोषन-जोषन; (9) कच्छपक-कच्छपक-काचरो; (10) वपोन-करो (तो)-कपतर; (11) लवि-लवी-लवी; (12) भव्यागुलक-भव्यागुलक-देवागुलो; (13) Deśya दायो-दायो, दामो; (14) Deśya दायो-दायो-दामो.

Notes:—

(a) The change of an initial व to ब is not known to Gujarātī; it is entirely a Hindi peculiarity. Words like वृद्धो (Skr. वृद्धः, Pr. वृद्धु); वरो (Skr. वृद्धः, Pr. वृद्धु), as in ए वरो लुचो ले, विसाहुं (Skr. विसाहु); बोतो (Deśya बोतो=a load); all have crept into Gujarātī through the Hindi formations.

The व in instances (1) to (7)—both inclusive—is initial only in the intermediate stages, but uninitial in the primary, Sanskrit, stage.

(b) Prākṛit grammar does not note the change of व to ब, no doubt. But it is not because it makes no distinction

between व and ब, no may at first sight appear from *St. Ht.* VIII-ii-79 (सर्वत्र लयरामवन्दे) where शब्द as well as दि, द्वार, उद्दिग्ग are cited, and from the fact that *St. Ht.* VIII-i-258 and 259 deal with व in शवर and व in स्वप्न and नीवी. For *St. Ht.* VIII-i-237 notes the change of व to ब. It wont do for a scientific treatise like grammar to take shelter under the laxity permitted for the purposes of *alanlāras* like श्लेष and the like in रलयोहेलयोथैव शस्योर्वयोस्तथा । वदन्त्येषां हि सारूप्यमलङ्कारविशेषजनाः ॥ I must therefore content myself with noting the slack manner in which व and ब are treated rather indifferently by Hēmachandra.

- (c) In instance number (5), ड्यत्, the elision of ज् is evidently outside the scope of Hēmachandra's grammar, for he nowhere notes the ऊर्ध्वलोप of ज (VIII-ii-77 omits ज् from the list), but the fact that ड्यत् yields यत् to Gujarātī and जय् to M. and जट् to H. by the alternative elision of ज् and य् justifies me in recognizing the elision of ज् here.
- (d) Navalrām Lakshmīrām has obviously erred in recognizing the change of an initial व to ब in his *Vyutpatti-pāṭha*, rule 9; for the instances given by him are either from Hindi (e. g. बत्ती, बाल, बंती, बिजवासी, बिराज्जु), or derived from erroneous words (e. g. बकरं from बर्कर, an entirely non-Sanskrit word), बाप from वाप, a similarly fictitious word, बटो from बिट्—wrong for उपबिट्; or unnecessarily derived from व, e. g. बाप from वाप्, for Skr. itself has वाप् (with the simple labial ब) also.
- (e) Tessitori, "Notes" § 33, notices the change of a medial व to ब, but restricts it by the condition—"when by asphæresis of a preceding vowel it becomes initial." The instances given by me will show that this condition does not necessarily apply at any rate in the case of Gujarātī.

Exceptions:

I can find only a few exceptions, where a purely Gujarātī word has an initial व in Skr. changed to ब; viz: बचत् from Skr.

वच; compare M. वांचने in phrases like त्या वांचने=*without it*, literally, *deceiving it, avoiding it, save it*; or तो वांचला गेला=*he was saved*.

G. वचें may be added as an exception, if we are correct in deriving it from वच्यकं (Skr.).

G. बीदी from Skr. बीडिवा is another exception.

So also वगटुं (G.) from विपट् (Skr.); and possibly वगाणं (G.) = *ya gāṇa* from विगात (Skr.). •

UTSARGA V.

The change of व to य

In some words व, pure labial, changes to य, dento-labial.

Examples:

| Skr. | Prakrit. | Guj. |
|------|----------|-------|
| वाचः | -direct- | वांचो |

Si. III. VIII-i-237 (घोरः) deals with an *uo*-initial व, whereas our instance here is that of an initial व.

UTSARGA VI.

The change of स to य

य (dental), when coming into contact with ह or weak (लघुप्रत्यय) य or, in some cases, with व, changes into य (palatal).

Note:—In some cases ह or भे preceding a य changes it to य; hence I use the phrase "coming into contact with"; in the majority of instances the ह or भे follow the य.

Examples.

(1) गुगलः (Skr.)—गिपाळ (Pr.)—गियाळ (Guj.); (2) गुंगल (हं)-सिगल-गोमल; (3) विषये-विषय, विहा, विमि-विमे (used as an indeclinable meaning *मां*, 'in, or with respect to.'): (1) वीमल-वीमल; (5) वीमल-वीमल-विमल; (6) वीमल-विमल (change of gender)—विमल-विमल; (7) विमल-विमल-वीमल (हं); (8) भतनी-भतनी-भतनी (=linseed). (9) मातृपुत्र-मातृपुत्र-मातृपुत्र; (10) वलियामि-वलियामि-वलियामि; (11) मलियी-भंग; (12) Dīkya लासा-लासा; (13) लियामि-लियामि-वीमल (हं) (gets cooked); (14)

करिष्यति-करिस्सइ-करशे; (15) मार्गशीर्षः-direct-मागशर; (16) वृषा-direct-तरिसा-तरश; (17) परिषेदकः-परिस्सेअउ-परसेवो; (18) कीदृशकं-किसिडं-कित्पुं-शुं; (19) रश्मिः-रस्सी-राश (=a rein) and रशी (=a rope); (20) प्रतिवेशी-पट्टिवेसी (पटवसी)-पटोशी, पाटोशी; (21) लेखशाला-लेहसाळा-नेसाळ-नीशाळ निशाळ

(a) शृगाल-instance (1).-Varanuchi (Pr. Prak. XI, after *sūtra* 16) gives शिआळ as an *ādeśa* of शृगाल; this, however, is confined to this single word and in Māgadhi only. However, as Māgadhi changes every प and स to च, the श in this case is independent of the इ in contact with it.

(b) Instances (11) and (12)-the final सी first changes into स्प under *Utsarga* III, n-(2), Lecture IV, section I, class A, (see *supra* pp. 223-4); and the य herein changes the dental य् to the palatal श्.

(c) Instances (10), (14), (16), (17), and (21).-Here the effective इ precedes the य्; only in (17)-परिस्सेअउ the य् following the य् may be regarded as the cause of the change to palatal.

(d) Instance number (9), माशी;-For full remarks see *supra*, page 78, remarks on (11), and nn. 20, 21.

(e) Instance (18);-the word वरुं is also found; and as the कि or क gets dropped, being unaccented, when yielding शुं, the श् may safely be attributed to the य् in वरुं rather than to the इ in कि.

(f) प्रतिवासी also means "a neighbour"; and प्रतिवेशक is also found in an old, but undated, *Auktika* in my possession; प्रतिवेशक may very well be taken as the source-word of पाटोशी. I leave the choice undecided.

(g) The principle involved in this *utsarga* is found at work in grammatical formations in Gujarati also; e. g.

वेसतुं-वेशी, वेशीने (having sat down);-वेसतुं-वेनी, वेनीने; टोमो-टोरी (fem.), फांसो-फांशी (f.), रगो-रशी (f.) = a fluid, gravy; पीन

(=twenty)—वींशी (=a period of twenty years); दश (=ten)—दशी (=a period of ten years); as in दशीवींशी. वेसयुं-वेयुं+य (imperative, 2nd. pers. sing.)—वेय; similarly वेम, from वेसयुं.

(b) This *utsarga* operates in the case of words derived from Persian also, in some cases; e. g.

(Per.) सिवाय—सिवाय (G.)

(k) The *इ* or *ए* even after they are dropped, leave the palatal change unaltered; as in वमयुं, मागयार, ययुं, तरय etc..

A few exceptions may be noted:—

(1) (Skr.) सह, समं—(Pr. or Ap.) सहं, सउं—(Guj.) सं; (2) सपत्नी-सपत्नी-शक्ति; (3) सपत्नी-सपत्नी-शक्ति (सिपयउं-सपयउं)—घायुं (as in सायुं के घायुं); (4)-Dīśya ओसरिआ-ओसरी (=a terrace before a house-door; *Dīśi-nāma-mālā*, I, 161); (5) सौर्य-सौरिउ-सर or सर.

In (1), (2), (3) and (4), the *य* changes to *इ* without any effective contact of a palatal; in (5) there is an optional change of *य* to *इ* without an effective palatal contact.

सप्या-सप्या-सेन; here the *य* remains a dental, because the *अ* is a wide *अ*, not a narrow *अ*, which alone is purely palatal, and the purpose of this *utsarga* requires a pure palatal.

होस-होसलो; रस-रसलो, रसियो;—

here the *य* remains a dental, in spite of the contact with *इ*.

VOWEL CHANGES.

UTSARGA VII.

In some words a non-final *अ* becomes *इ* and a similar *ओ* becomes *उ*.

Examples:—

अ—वेह (Skr.)—direct—वीह (Guj.); केन—केन—कीन; डेरयाडा—नीयाडा, नियाडा; Dīśya डीही (=उपुष्या)—डीही; Dīśya डीही (डूही) =a locust;—डीह.

Notes:—

(a) Si. Ht. VIII-iv-220 gives वेह as an *idiot* of वेह; this is the source of M. वेह=a sieve, and G. वेही (=a spiral

finger-ring). But वीट्टु (which is the sense of वेष्ट) has to be derived direct, in the circumstances.

- (b) छेदी and सेहो may, in a way, be brought under the operation of *Sl. II. Vili-i-84*, to yield छिदी and तिहो; but the fact that the *sūtra* belongs to Prākṛit and not to Dēśya and, even if it did, the words in Dēśya have an ए, not इ, as also the fact that फेन at least will remain outside the scope of the *sūtra* (there being no conjunct in it) will justify the recognition of this separate *utsarga*.
- (c) An opposite process, इ to ए, is visible in the case of पारेख (G.) derived from परीक्षकः (Skr.)—परिक्ख (Ap.)—फ being dropped here; but I do not enunciate a separate *utsarga* for this, as *Sl. II. VIII-i-85* (इतएद्वा) covers this case, though the ए resulting from that *sūtra* is the short ए of Prākṛit whereas that in पारेख is a long ए.

ओ-पूतरकः (Skr.)-पोरख (Pr.)-पूरो (Gn); कोनफः-कोणव-छणो;
 छवणं-छोण-छण; सटावण्यकं-सटावण्यकं (सटावण्यकं-सटावण्यकं), सटावण्यकं-
 सटावण्यकं; कपोतः—partly direct-कपतर; पृथुकः-पृथुह, पंथु, पॉल-पूल;
 छोहकारः-छोहाडु-छहार; छकुमारकः-सोमाळड-छंवाळो; एकोन (in एकोन-
 विंशति etc.)-एगुण, ओगण; ककोणिः-ककोणी-ककोणी; गोणी-गण्य; घौर्य-
 सोरिड-शर, सर; रोमकं-रंजु.

Notes:—

- (a) पूरो has पोरो as an alternative form also;
 (b) छहार has छहार also as a further development; the steps being:—छुहार; छुवार; छहार;
 (c) ओगण; the ए is changed to ओ by a reflex action of the ओ in को. M. preserves the ए and has एगुण e. g. एगुणीत.

UTSARGA VIII

ओ, original or as an evolute of ओ, turns into अ in some cases.

Examples:—

गोप्पुमः—गोप्पु (गोप्पु) —पड;
 ओगज्जवण्यकं—direct—अज्जवण्यकं.

UTSARGA IX

When the यधुति अकार of Prākṛit is preceded by a vowel other than short इ or उ, the य sound vanishes in Gujarātī and the residual अ merges into the preceding vowel.

Examples:—

पीतकं-पीभलवं-पीछं; शीतलकं-सीभलवं-सीछं; धूतकारः-गुभगार-जगार-गुगार; आदशं-आयरिसव-आरसो; प्रादकः-direct-घाभट-घाट then by विछेप, पराकः पशोपरीतं-जणोरीवं, जणोभई-जनोइ; स्तोत्रक(ट)कं-धोभटवं-धोइ; लोहसणं-लोहसंड-लोभसंड-लोमंड; देवराणी-देभराणी-देराणी; लेमसाटा-लेहसाटा-लेभसाटा-नेसाट-नीसाट-निसाट; Dēśya छेभो (छेभटव)-छेहो.

Exceptions:—

Dīśya:-जुभंजुभ } (=टणक् टणक्)-Gaṇ jujun;

Dīśya इंतयणं-इंतभण-इतण; Skr. पूततः(टः)-पूभट-पूवट and optionally पूट.

Notes:—

(a) पीछं and सीछं may also be traced as under:—

पीतलकं-पीभलवं-पीपलवं-पीहलवं-पीछं similarly सीछं.

But I prefer the present *utsarga* as an operative principle.

(b) This principle operates in yielding र्हेने, र्हेतु &c. from र्हेदने, र्हेदु &c., thus:—तर्हेने—र्हेभने—र्हेने; similarly र्हेतु, जे'ने जे'तु &c..

UTSARGA X

विरुत अ is in some cases changed to भा.

Examples:—

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. | Gaṇ, |
|----------|--------------------|------|
| स्वप्नकः | सिदिगड | |
| | then, next. सिदिगड | |
| | सप्यनं | |
| | सादि | सायं |

[Vallabhaji Haridatta Āchārya in his essay on *Dhāshūvatāra* (*Gujarāt Śālapatra*, April 1908, P. 108 footnote) quotes the following from a festive song sung by Nāgar women of Jūnāgadhā.—

आज सर्णिमों हेंदो आव्यो

(हेंदो=husband).

Evidently this dialect retains the word in the wide अ stage]

भूमि—भूवी—भुई—भोंई. भोंई

[*St. II. VIII-iv-395*, illustrations, gives भुई for भूमि. Could the ह be a mislection for इ (ई) ?]

Notes:—(a) सर्पेवु (G.) is सर्पेवु in Charotari Goj. Evidently the principle of this *utsarga* works in this and similar cases.

(b) The change of अ to आ (itself a wide sound) indirectly supports the wide nature of the अ sound.

UTSARGA XI

The क in Sanskrit turns into अरि in an interim stage in passing into Gujarātī in the case of some words; and occasionally into अइ or रि or रु and sometimes अरु.

Examples:—

अरि—

तृषा (Skr.)—तरिषा (interim)—तरसा (Guj.); तृणकं—तरिणडं—तरथं, अमृतं—अमरित—अमरत, धूमिः—परिमी—वरम.

अरु—

गृहं—गरुह—घरु—घर.

रि—

भारुजकः—भरीजो.

रु—सरुक्षकः—सरुक्षल—रोखो.

(The इ is first elided under *St. II. VIII-i-177*, leaving सरुक्षल, and then क is changed to रु. The same steps occur in the change of रुग् to रिस in सरित etc.—under *St. II. VIII-i-142*).

अरु—वृक—वरुओ—वरु

Note:—

It may perhaps be considered better and consonant with बीजलापन to treat these phenomena differently and regard the

evolution of क as at first proceeding from the three-fold pronunciation of this strange vowel, viz. as क, रि, र, and then splitting the conjunct by विच्छेप, thus:—कृणकं-कृणकं-कृणकं; कृहं-कृहं-कृहं-कृहं; and so forth. The sound of क is nowhere uniform; in some parts of India कृष्ण, for instance, is कृष्ण, in others कृष्ण, and in others कृष्ण. (In the tradition of the Mādhyandini Śūtra of the Śukla Yajurveda क is pronounced as रे). This may account for the varying changes of क into अ, इ, उ noted in *Si. Hl.* VIII-i-126 to 142 (where इ would be dropped under *Si. Hl.* VIII-ii-79, सर्वत्र ह्यसामवन्दे and leave the अ, इ, उ.). Thus while क, रि, र would explain अ, इ, उ evolves in Prākṛit by the elision of र, they would explain the अइ in Gñj. by विच्छेप. However, I have decided to accept this *utsarga* as framed above for several reasons; first, अरि is in fact found in Apabhraṃśa and Prākṛit in words like वरिसइ &c. (*Si. Hl.* VIII-iv-234), हरिअ (VIII-i-144), वरिसं, हरिसो &c. under विच्छेप (VIII-ii-103); secondly;—the palatal स in G. सरा points to the इ in सरिस; (the dental स in वरम is explainable by the change of इ to अ in वरिस before इ affecting the स);

thirdly,—Marāṭhi even now has वरिस. ~

and fourthly—सदुक्त will necessitate the elision of इ in teeth of the nasal and more potent elision of र.

I recognize that even then it is possible to trace all changes primarily to the क-रि-र sounds of क, even for the evolution in Prākṛit; thus वरिसइ, वरिसं, हरिसो may have come from an original वि. हि.

UTSARGA XVII.

Sandhi.

In the case of words passing into Gujarātī there is, as a rule, no internal vowel sandhi in words, just like Prākṛit, but under special conditions the ordinary sandhi process takes place.

Examples:—

हरयं-दिभवं-हरयं-हरयं

The अ-इ in हरयं remain separate.

Cases of Sandhi:—

द्वितीयकं-विद्वज्जं-वीजुं; तृतीयकं-तिद्वज्जं-तीजुं; महत्कं-महन्तं-
 म्हुवृद्धं-म्होद्धं; देशपतिः-देसवई-देसअई-देसाई; दयावणो (Dēśya)-दा-
 वणो-दावणो-दामणो (G.-old poetry). [दयावणो=दीनः *Dēśi-nāma-
 māla*, V-35].

कृतककं-करिअलं, करइलं-करेलं-and all such forms in एलं.

Note.—The question of पदसन्धि may be disposed of by the general statement that there is no पदसन्धि in Gujarātī. There are a few exceptions.—

मगने आव्यो, here मगन+ए (=also) combines by *sandhi* into मगने;
 दास्तो—from दा ज तो.

UTSARGA XIII.

The आ of certain words is shortened into अ.

Examples:—

वाणिज्यं-वाणिज्ज-वणज; मातृपुत्रं-माइपुत्रं-मदियर; आपादः-आसाद-
 असाद; प्रायुणकः-प्राहुणउ-प्हरुणो; पादः-direct-पग; Dēśya अयाकी-
 अयली-ईली,

Note.—*Si. H.* VIII-i 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, deal with this change; of these 67 mentions उत्खातादिगण, which, by the word इत्यादि, may cover other words. If the instances given here can, by any stretch, be included in that *gana*, the present *utsarga* may be superfluous. If not, it will be an अनुपूर्ति of VIII-i-67.

UTSARGA XIV

In polysyllabic words the syllable (श्रुति) preceding a long or accented syllable (श्रुति), (a) remains short, or (b) if long, becomes short.

Examples:—

(a)

चित्रकारकः-चित्तारउ-चित्तारो; छत्रपारः-छत्रहाद-छतार;
 छत्रणंवारः-छत्रण्णार, छत्र्णादु-छनार; चर्मकारः-चम्माद-चमार;

गुजरा } - गुजराता-गुजरात; वच्छद्, वच्छः-वच्छंसव-वच्छंसो; Ditya
गुजरा }
ठिनाली-ठिनाळ; कटारी-कटारी, कटार.

(b) निःभासकः-नीसासव-निसामो, विभासकः-वीतामव-विसामो, दूतवारः-
गुभागाव-दुगार; ऐसशाव-नेसाव-नीशाव-निसाव.

Note:-(a) The expression "preceding" in the *utsarga* above given includes occasional cases where the भुति is व्यपदिष्टपूर्व, i. e. not immediately preceding: this gives room to गुजरात in the examples given above.

(b) ठिनाळ and कटार are given at p. 399 *supra* under the principle of संयोगलोप पूर्वस्वर अविवृत; but the present *utsarga* goes to the root principle which furnishes the cause for the अविवृत state. The principle of this *utsarga* has been referred to at p. 400 *supra* against the marginal note regarding the influence of accent. Tessitani "Notes" § 48, notices this principle, though some of his instances are open to question, so far as Gujarati is concerned.

UTSARGA 31

The single consonant in certain words is doubled

(a) sometimes स्वार्थे, i. e. preserving the original sense; and (b) sometimes to indicate emphasis or intensity of meaning, or a phase in meaning.

Examples:—

(a) बिल्लो; बिल्लावो; मगार; मच्छर (from मगव; मसभद्-मउभद्-मछर);

(b) कट्ठण, लाई; लोई; निहुं; वण्डुं; लणो, भाण्डुं; लाण्डुं (as in, लाण्डे लाण्डुं); भाण्डुं; इज्जार (e. g. "इज्जार मूमे खणो, प्रयेवमां छम छम हो") "Kramasiddhi," P. 95, st. 19. l. 4, by Narasimharu Bholanath);

पच्छास; लम्पर (=giddiness; faintness);—from निमिर; दस्तो; नणो; (the nine and ten in playing cards).

This process is sometimes adopted in द्विरुक्त words, e. g. अहहह, वन्ने, वच्छार, उच्छु. (for वद वद, वेवे, चार चार, उ उ,—with a certain emphasis.)

UTSARGA XVI

व्यत्यय (Metathesis)

(This is an extension (अनुपूर्ति) of *Sl. III. VIII-ii-166 ff.*)

The words stated below undergo an interchange of syllables or letters as shown against them.

Interchange of vowels:—

| Skr. | Pr. or Ap. | Guj. | Skr. | Pr. or Ap. | Guj. |
|--------|---------------|--------|---------|------------|----------|
| मम | मञ्जु | मुज | शुन- | direct- | शुकन |
| इमञ्जु | मंजु | मंजु | परिविष- | परीस्- | पीरस(इं) |
| एकादश | एगारह-अग्यारह | अगियार | हृदयकं- | ह्रिअअं- | हरयं |

(See *supra* p. 403 for this partial metathesis). (See *supra* p. 421, n. 188)!

Interchange of consonants:—

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| बिडालकः-बिडालड-बिडालो, बलाहो; | मम-first विश्लेष, then interchange- |
| कलशी-कलसी-कसली; | मम; |
| मुद्गारः-direct-मगदळ; | अष्टादश-अट्टारह-अट्टारह-इटार-इराट. |
| कर्णिकारकः-कणेरड-करेणो; | बहुलसरी-बोलसरी-भोरसली; |
| फलाहारः-फलाहार-फराळ; | मंगलपुर-मंगलडु-मंगलदुर-मांगलदुर |
| परिहितकं-परिहियडं-परिहयं; | (See <i>Kānhaḍadē-prabandha</i> , I. 22.)—मांगरोळ; |
| परिधापनिका-परिहावणिआ-परिहामणी, | कांतिका-कांक्सी-कांसकी; |
| Dēśya-जवरया-जवयरा-जवइरा- | वाक्य-direct-वायक (Old Guj. and generally in poetry). |
| मवेरा; | |

Interchange of vowels and consonants:—

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| महार्णवः-महारण्ड | प्रावरणकं-पावरणं |
| महरावण्ड-मिहिरामण | पावरणडं-उपरण्ड. |
| महिरामण | |
| महेरामण; | |

Notes:—

(a) Persian has पीराहीन=a shirt; the Gujarati word परिहण which means a shirt of the shape of Mussalman apparel, may be from Persian. All the same परिहण &c. must really be traced to

परिषा, and it is possible that the Persian word *पीराही* is connected with Sanskrit *परिषान्*.

(b) *Diśya ओहरितो* (through *ओभरितो*), yielding *G. ओरगियो* presents a peculiar movement of *र* and *य*, each one syllable-place upwards, which may be noted here as a phenomenon akin to, but not identical with, *व्यत्यय*.

(c) *घरगो* (*G.*) is traceable to Persian *घग्*, but this latter is obviously connected with *घग्* (*Sk.*) with the principle of *व्यत्यय* working on it.

CONSONANTAL CHANGES.

UTSARGA XVII.

The change of hard consonants to soft ones. *क*, *च*, and *ट* are changed to *ग*, *ज* and *ड* respectively.

This is the prevalent feature of the *Prākṛits*, and its action is further manifested in the evolution of *Gujarātī* under certain conditions.

क to *ग*. This change is seen in a very limited sphere, in *Prākṛit*, viz: *मरकत*, *मदकल*, and *बहुक* (initial *क*) change the *क* to *ग* (*Si. III. VIII-i-182*). *Apabhraṃśa* presents a freer movement of this softening process; but, as the illustration to *Si. III. VIII-iv-396* indicates, the softening was prevalent generally in the case of *कर* (from *कृ* to *दो*) coming in words like *उग्रकर*, *दुग्रकर* and the like. In *Gujarātī* this change of *कर* to *गर* is seen in a still wider field, and the change of *क* to *ग* in words where the *कर* is not present. Examples:—

बध्नागरो (= *बध्ना प्रमाणे करनारो*, obedient); *दालगार* (= *maker of shields*); *पुद्गार* (= *maker of पुद्गी, ivory bangles*); *दुद्गार* (= *maker of tambourines*); *जादुगार* (= *a magician*; note the combination with Persian, *जादू*); *सिरगार* (= *a polisher of swords &c.*; *सिरक*, Persian); *अरहगरो*, *मुंशगरो*, etc. *रनागार* (= *the sea*; *Sk. रनावर*); *कामनागरो* (*Sk. कामनकार*); *जुगार* (*दुतकार*; *Sk. = a gambler*; *Gujarātī* alters the sense to "gambling," it will not be satisfactory to derive *जुगार* from *दुतकार*, as *कार्य* would be *कज्ज*).

કાલ changed to ગાઝો (કાલઃ to ગાઝો) in words like these:—
હગનગાઝો, ફેરીગાઝો, આંવાગાઝો; etc. (where ગાઝો=season).

પ્રગટ (from Skr. પ્રકટ); પગરણ (a ceremonial occasion, such as a wedding, and the like).—Skr. પ્રકરણ; મૂગો (Skr. મૂલક); સમૂહ્યું (Skr. સમૂલક); સયું (Skr. સ્વકર્ત); પલંગ (Skr. પર્યંક); મુગટ (Skr. મુકટ); પોગઝ (પોકઝ);—પોકઝ=hollowness; પોગઝ=hollowness, metaphorically, i. e. humbug; fraud.

કાગડો (Skr. કારક); ઘગલો (Skr. ઘરકક); કપ્પાગી (Skr. કટાક્ષ); ધીગત (Skr. વ્યતિ); =details; ઘગડો, સગડો, ચાગિડો; the figures 2, 3, 4; here the ગ is from ક in દ્રિકક &c.;

The ગ in અગિયાર, ઓગણ (of ઓગણીસ, ઓગણત્રીસ etc.)—from एकोन, must be referred to pre-Gujarātī stages.

It will be observed that this change in Gujarātī is seen in उत्तरपद like °कर, °कार, °काल; and in select words like ઘગડો, ઘગલો, પોગઝ, અગિયાર; ઓગણ (પૂર્વપદ of ઓગણત્રીસ etc.); ઘગડો etc.; in Kanares the change may be the result of misapprehension of the °कर of आकर for the form of कृ to do.

Note:—Kanares shows this softening in words like કોગિઝ (Skr. કોઠિલ); મઝગાઝ (=rainy season; મઝે=cloud, rain, વાલ= time); પાગાર (=a compound-wall, enclosure, from Skr. પ્રાકાર);

ચ to જ

સચિતં (Skr.); સચિમં—સચ્ચું; સચ્ચું.

પ્રતીતિ: (Skr.); પતીતી—પતીત્ય—પતીચ—પતીજ (=assurance, proof).

ત્વચા (Skr.); તચા—તજ (=cinnamon).

તુચ્છં (Skr.); ટુચ્છ (Ap.)—જજ (G.); unless જજ be traced from Persian જૂઝ.

ઉચ્છિદ્યકં (Skr.); ઉચ્છિદ્ધં—ઉષિદ્ધં—મજીદું.

જ (=a particle denoting certainty; as in જ જોર); may be traced to (a) ષ or ચિમ of Prākṛit (*Si. Hl. VIII-ii-184*)

or (b) જિ of Apabhraṃśa (*Si. Hl. VIII-iv-420*); preferably the latter; in which case this word may be excluded from here.

મોચ્ચે (Kanares); મોજદી (Guj.)=a shoe.

મોચું „ =a sock; a stocking.

Notes:—

- (a) M. त्याचें वट्टे becomes त्याज वट्टे in a further developement.
The change of च to ज is visible here also;
(b) In Prākṛit पितामी for पितामी is shown by Hīmachandra
(VIII-1-1775, gloss), but as a rare and exceptional case.

ट to ढ:—

This is seen in a rare instance—in Gejārātī itself, e. g.
दह+ताहुं=दहताळ (=locking up of shops; therefore, a close day for
bazaar; a strike).

As for Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa, ढट from षट: &c. come in
the regular course.

UTSARGA XVIII

The change of ञ to च.

This is an opposite process, hardening of a soft consonant.
The only instance I find is —

अपमस्य (Skr.)—अममस्य (Pr; also Sindhī)

आममस्य—अममस्य (intermediate step) आममस्य
(Gujarātī).

UTSARGA XIX.

The change of gutturals to palatals.

क, ख and ग are respectively changed to च, छ, and ज,
either when influenced by the contact of a palatal vowel or
य or even without such contact.

Examples.

क to च—

चिकीर्ष (Skr.), चिकीर्ष (Pr.), चिकीर्ष (G.), चिकीर्ष (G.), चिकीर्ष (G.), चिकीर्ष (G.)

ख to छ—

उच्छृङ्खल (Skr.), उच्छृङ्खल (Ap.), उच्छृङ्खल (G.).

ग to ज—

गार्भणी (Skr.), गार्भणी (Pr.), गार्भणी (G. also गार्भणी),

Notes:—

(a) For an inner analysis of this sound change see reference to Max Müller *supra* p. 351, also *supra* p. 280, Supplement, (II). The tendency in rural Gujarātī noted there finds a restricted manifestation in the above instance of क to च in urban Gujarātī too. Alan compares the tendency amongst some children in their liaping stage, to pronounce कवर्ग letters as चवर्ग letters; e.g. चाचा for काका, छातुं for कातुं, जाय for गाय, मोदी for घोड़ी and the like; and चाचा for काका (uncle) is a recognized word in certain circles (e.g. the Brahma-Kshatriya class), allied to H. चचा or चिचा; all which strongly illustrates the direct sound affinity between gutturals and palatals.

(b) After this, I may with some diffidence hint at a possible misapprehension between ए and ऐ being the cause of ए चाओग to ऐ. As I shall note in *utsarga* XXXVIII below, ए and ऐ are interchangeable sounds and symbols; and it may be that ए=ऐ=ए may account for the change of ए to ऐ (through the principle of ए changing to ऐ—*utsarga* XXXIII *infra*); again, the alternative evolutes of ए, viz. ऐ and ऐ (as in लयमन (G.) and लयमन (H.)), may be attributed to the double sound of ए (included in ऐ).² However, this must take a second place before the higher principle of affinity between gutturals and palatals.

3. A further question arises regarding the evolution of ए into ऐ. Does the ए get dropped before the ऐ sound of ए is ऐ? Or, does ए turn into ऐ and then aspirate the ऐ into ऐ? The question is akin to the question whether in ए, ऐ, ए, ऐ turning into ऐ, ऐ, ऐ, ऐ, the ए gets dropped and palatalizes the ऐ, ऐ, ऐ, ऐ into ऐ, ऐ, ऐ, ऐ or, whether, as Beames (Vol. I § 85) holds, the ऐ, ऐ, ऐ, ऐ, get dropped and turn the strong-sounding ए (=अ) into ऐ, ऐ, ऐ, ऐ by way of a *post mortem* influence. (The last para of my vol 106 at page 342 *supra* may be read along with these remarks.).

UTSARGA XX.

The change of palatal to guttural.

In certain cases च is changed to क and ज to ग.

Examples:—

च to क

निधित्तकं (Skr.), निदिअरं (Ap.), निदिक्कं-नद्दी (G.)

[व्हच्चिं (G.) is further turned to व्हक्किं by some Gojariātis on this very principle.]

ज to ग.—

जरठकः (Skr.), जरदव (Ap.), गरदव, गरदो

गरदो, पयदो (G.).

यादित्तकं (Skr.), यादिअरं (Ap.), -यानिचं-याचं-वाचं (G.);

also वाचं (G.),

UTSARGA XXI

Change of dentals to cerebrals.

त, थ, द and प are respectively changed to ट, ठ, ड, ट.

Prākṛit recognises this change to a limited extent, i. e. in the case of certain specified words; *Si. III.* VIII-1-205, 206, 207, (where the ट is really a softening of ट evolved from त), 208, (where the थ is a further step after ट), 211, 212, (where the ड is a further evolution of थ); 215, 216 (where the ठ is further softened into ड); 217, 218, 221, 222, (where the ट is further changed to ठ); 226 and 227. *Sūtras* 228 and 229 deal with the change of न to ण which is extensive in Prākṛit.

I give the present *utsarga* as an अव्युत्ति as it covers post-Prākṛit and post-Apabhramśa words.

For a possible accounting for this change see *supra* Pp. 7-8, about Dravidian influence, and Pp. 23-26, about defective vocal organs.

See also Deames, I, § 59; where a very suggestive and thoughtful account is given of the relation between the dentals

and the cerehral. It is suggested there that the dentals and the cerehral are really the weaker and the stronger branches of one and the same group, viz, linguals (both sets being produced by the tongue, and therefore *linguals*); and that Sanskrit-polished and classical-inclined to the softer (i. e. the dental) branch, while the popular speech (the Prākṛits) adhered to the harsher (i. e. the cerehral) forms. Th'a view, however, must be accepted with some reservations.

Examples.

त to ट

- श्रदिति (Skr.)-श्रन्ति (Pr.; *Si. Ht. VIII-i-32*)-श्रट (G);
 जेतुं, केतुं, तेतुं (*Si. Ht. VIII-ii-167*)-जेतुं, केतुं,
 तेतुं (*Mugdhaśvabodha Auktika, P. 17, col. 1*);
 जेटुं, केटुं, तेटुं (G);
 महत्कं (Skr.)-महन्तं (Ap.)-महत्तं (interim)-महोदं (G.);
 तिलकं (Skr.)-तिलुं (Ap.)-टीलुं (G.);
 आपतिः (Skr.)-आपटी (G.); पातः (Skr.)-पांटी (G.).

Note:-*Si. Ht. VIII-ii-29* and *30* cognize the change of double त (either original or evolved of ते) into ट. However, in the above instances the double त is simplified in post-Apabhraṃśa stages, and in the case of महत्तं, the double त is a clear case of later evolution. Hence this separate *utsarga* which is capable of including a single त also, as in तिलकं-टीलुं.

थ to ठ

- मथितं (Skr.)-मठो (G.); एकस्थकं (Skr.)-एकस्थं (Ap.)-एकठं;
 स्थिरकः (Skr.)-थिरठ (Ap.)-ठपों (G.)-by a misapprehension of ठो like ऊमो, and hence ठरुं-verb.

द to ढ

- डिङ्कं (Skr.)-डिरुं (Ap.)-डीङ् (G.); बिन्दुः (Skr.)-मीङ् (G.);
 बन्धुः or बान्धवः (Skr.)-माण्डु (G.); दंष्ट्रा (Skr.)-दादा (Pr.)-दादु,
 दू (Skr.)-रदुं (G.); दक्षिणकः (Skr.)-दादिणठ (Ap.)-दापो (G);
 संदिग्धा (Skr.)-संदंतिभा (Pr.)-सांढी (G.); [loan from Skr. दंघ.

and दांगु from Skr. दंग् need not be cited separately, as दंग् to दंग् is provided for in *St. It.* VIII-i-216; and really दांगु may as well be covered by that *sūtra*.]

Foreign languages:—

दगलेद् (Arabie)—दगले (G);

घरेद् (Persian)—मदद् (G);

घ to द

अदी (=two and a half) from अपं+दि; दोट (=one and a half) from दि+अपं;—both evolve the द from the घ in अपं (Skr.)-अद (Pr.).

न to ण is a change in full swing in Prāk. itself, (*St. It.* VIII-i-228 and 229). ल to छ has been already dealt with by me at an earlier stage (See *supra* pp. 362 ff. especially p. 365).

Navalarām in his *Vyutpatti-pāṭha, utsarga*, 20 gives the following other instances:—

कट(ु) from कपा (Skr.); टट from दट (Skr.)—(better दांटो, दांटियो). His other instances are covered by Prākṛit rules.

M. would seem to stick to the dentals in words like मानो, वात, &c. (though *St. It.* VIII-li-29, 30 would favor the cerebral), yet in other cases it cerebralizes the dental, e. g. Skr. यद्-M. मट (ज).

Beng. दोन्ग from Skr. प्रतोन्नी also bears witness to this change of dentals to cerebrals.

UTSARGA XVII

Cerebral changed to dental.

This is an opposite process. I find only one instance: द to त;—कोदर (Skr.)—कोतर (G.)

UTSARGA XVIII

द changed to ज

Examples.

भावर (Skr.)—सावर (G);

मवारा (Skr.)—मज्जामो (G);

गारिचे (Skr.)—गजिच (G).

UTSARGA XXIV

द changed to ग

Examples.

पादः (Skr.)—direct—पाग (G.); पग (G); (पाग is used at present by Nāgars of Chāndod and Karnāli on the banks of the Narmadā).

वादितकं (Skr.)—वादिपदं (Ap.)—वाजिपुं—वाज्युं—वागुं—वागुं (G.). (However in this latter instance the ग may have a reverse process from ज्य as a result of misapprehension, ज्य being the rural change of ग्य.)

UTSARGA XXV

Change of ल to न, and न to ल.

Examples:—ल to न.

लक्ष्मणकं (Skr.)—लण्डकं (Ap.)—ल्हाकुं; (I have pointed out this derivation in my essay on *Jōḍanī* in 1888 A. D.) लेखशाला (Skr.)—लेहशाला (Pr.)—लेसाल—नेसाल—नीसाल—निसाल.

This derivation derives support from several instances in old Gujarātī literature:—

- (1) पांच वरस बेदर छाडीइ
दस नेसालं संभालीइ

(*Vimala-prabandha*, IV, 85.)

- (2) इति श्री विमलप्रबन्धे नमपंडे लेखशालाकरण.

(Closing note of Khanda IV of *Vimala-prabandha*).

- (3) यम बेदर नेसालं भणइ
- (4) पंडित प्रथम भणावइ भले,
नेसालीउ जीव नीसले.

(Do IV-36)

- (5) नेसालीया अउर पररयो

(Do IV-36)

- (6) एउगार सुनी नेसाल

(*Harr-Lila*, by Bhima; VIII-30)

- (7) विजसादी सपली नेसाल

(Do. VIII-47)

(8) नमाल देवनागरी

(A nameless and dateless *Avalat* : probably of the sixteenth century Vikram era)

नमनाल has been suggested as preferable to लमनाल for deriving निगल. But instance (2) above distinctly points to देव. Besides नम gives no clear meaning if it means 'training' or 'leading out' (as in 'education' = *to plus et co I lead*), the idea is very modern and of the West, नम = modesty, may be suggested. But in favour of देव we have several considerations —

- (a) Our old schools dealt with (repeating and) writing on a wooden plank.
- (b) In Marathi even now, in rural areas particularly people say शाळेला लिहायला जातो (he goes to school to write) writing being the function associated with a school.
- (c) मयतर (Aralic) means a place of writing a writing school, from KTB to *write* Katab = he wrote.

Persian *खरीक* (a line, a stroke) G नरेरी, only in ये मादां नरेरी in
 क आये माये मीतु
 क आये मीतुं ये नरेरी

the two full stop strokes marking the end of the वाचनदी thus —
 व व H being mistaken as part of the symbol for the *visarga*

Persian has *ख* and *ना* both c ह खघार, नाघार, लाह्लाघ नाह्लाघ. The sound affinity between न and ल is at the root of these words.

Note This *visarga* is through the evolutionary kinship of न and म an अनुवृत्ति for *Si. III VIII* : 206 and 207 note the change of ल to न in certain words लंग and लिङ (from लङ्ग), o t of them have come down to the present vernaculars नगर (N) and निगर (G). Viewed minutely the Prakrit change of ल to न is really through म as a first step म to न being the next step under मील (*Si. III VIII* : 229).

निटल is shown as a Sk- word by Apte in his Dictionary, where he quotes from *Danda-lar* *acharya*. All the same I view

it with suspicion as a Sanskritized form of ણિહલ, especially as Hēmachandra regards it as an evolūt of હલાટ.

ન to હ.

નીલક: (Skr.)-લીલો (G.); નીલી (Skr.)-લીલ્ય, લીહ; કૃષ્ણસાર:-
કણ્ઠહારુ-કન્ઠઆરુ-કલ્હઆરુ-કન્ઠિયાર; નિમ્ન (Skr.)-લીંતુ (G.); વલ્કલ-
વલકલ, વનકૂલ (O. G.).

Notes:—

(a) This part of the *utsarga* is an અનુવર્તિ of *St. Hl.* VIII-i-230, which prescribes હ for the ન of નિમ્ન only. If નિમ્ન herein be regarded as a specimea, નિમ્ન may be taken as included in the *sūtra* itself.

(b) The great affinity between ન and હ is evidenced by a variety of words in ancient and modern languages; e. g. નોટ (from English *Note*) is pronounced as હોટ by Upper India villagers; હકસાન becomes હુકસાન in Kanarese. નવનીત (Skr.) is હોળી in M.; નવયાંક (= $\frac{1}{8}$ of a seer weight) becomes હવયાંક in the mouths of villagers, M. હવળે is from Skr. નમ્; Persian સંદલ has the હ from the ન in ચન્દન (Skr.); Sūratī Gajarātī has હાલવું for નાંહવું. In Kātibāyāda women of a certain caste turn મૃગનયની to મરપાલેની in a wedding song !

UTSARGA XXVI

હ changed to ર, and ર to હ

Examples:—

હુટલં (Skr.)-મગ્ગલ (Ap.)-મરિ (G.);
જાન્વલ્યમાન (Skr.)-જાજરમાન (G.);
લાઙ્ગલં (Skr.)-લંગલ (Ap.)-લંગર (G.) (=an anchor);
પલાલં (Skr.)=astraw; પપલ (G.)=paddy straw.

St. Hl. VIII-i-255 provides for this change only in the case of સ્થલ. There is therefore room for this *utsarga* as an અનુવર્તિ rather more.

ર changed to હ

હરિદ્રા (Skr.)-direct-હલદર (G.);
શરિદ્રવં (Skr.)-direct-દલદર (G.);
સ્થકં (Skr.)-direct-દમું (G.).

Si. II. VIII-i-254 notes इट्ठी and इट्ठि; but the G. words come direct and by विश्वेय; hence a separate provision is made here. Similarly इट्ठ is not given in the इट्ठिदादिगण mentioned in *Si. II.* VIII-i-254, hence a separate provision is made here; unless इट्ठ्यादि at the end of the *gana* be taken as including इट्ठ.

पुट्ठारः (Skr.)—direct—मगद्वट्ठ (G.);

कृप्यति (Skr.)—तरित्तद् (Pr.)—मट्ठते (G.);

मय्यादा (Skr.) मलानो (G.);

(ये in इ is noted only for पय्यंत, पयोण and सौट्ठमायं in *Si. III.* VIII-ii-68)

Note:—The change of ट्ठ in ट्ठ is a Māgadhī feature (*Si. II.* VIII-iv-288). But I place this as an independent *utsarga*, because (a) Gñjarātī does not owe much to Māgadhī, and (b) this change is all prevalent in Māgadhī, whereas in Gñjarātī it is limited to certain words only.

UTSARGA XXVII.

ट्ठ changed to ट्ठ

लट्ठयति (Skr.), लट्ठारे (ठे) (Gñj.);

ताडः (Skr.), ताडु (Δp.), ताट (G.);

(Āptē gives ताटिः ताटी a kind of palm; but it is an unfamiliar word; and ताड alone can be recognized.)

UTSARGA XXVIII

ट्ठ changed to ट्ठ, and ट्ठ to ट्ठ.

ट्ठ to ट्ठ:—

अट्ठि (Skr.), direct अट्ठि. अट्ठि (G.);

कुट्ठारः (Skr.), कुट्ठारी (G.), सौट्ठि (Skr.), सौट्ठम (G.);

The ट्ठ split off from म unites with ट्ठ evolved from ट्ठ and yields ट्ठ; the ट्ठ left from म becomes म (through ट्ठ); see *supra* p. 355.

ट्ठारणाट्ठरी (Skr.), ट्ठारणाट्ठरी (Pr.), ट्ठारणाट्ठरी (G.);

ट्ठिनाट्ठ (Skr.), ट्ठिनाट्ठ, ट्ठिनाट्ठ (G.),

अष्टवारिकं (Skr.), अष्ठवादिषुं (G.); पञ्चवारिकं (Skr.), पञ्चवादिषुं (G.); परं (Skr. (through पडे), पण (G.); see *supra*, p. 334.

The word भरत (G.)=a preparation of roasted brinjal filled with certain condiments, assumes the form भडत also and illustrates this change.

Compare the change of र to ङ्ग in पुरः (Skr.) changing to पुंङ्ग (M.); see *supra*, p. 94, n. 42; also *supra* p. 281, supplement (III).

Foreign Languages.

पर्देह (Persian)—पडदो (G.);

मुर्देह (Persian)—मडदुं (G.).

ढ to र—

मशकः (Skr.)=mosquito;—मसङ्ग-मडङ्ग-मच्छर.

UTSARGA XXIX

ङ changed to ङ.

This is more or less a *sandhi*-change in Gujarātī itself.

कङ्गु+ङ term.—कङ्गुं-कल्लुं

हाङ्गो+ङ term.—हाङ्गुं-हाल्लुं

UTSARGA XXX.

Medial र, ङ, ङ, and in rare cases ङ, change to य.

र, मूर्धन्यतर ङ, and ङ—(and in rare cases ङ), when medial and united with अ, and when followed by ण or ड, are changed to य.

Examples:—

दोर+ङी—(दोरङी)—दोयङी;

देङ+ङी—(देङङी)—देयङी;

बोर+ङी—(बोरङी)—बोयङी;

दङ्ग+ङुं—(दङ्गुं)—दयङुं;

बारङ्गुं वायङ्गुं

पाङ्ग+ङुं—(पाङ्गुं)—पायङ्गुं;

अवारङ्गुं अवारयङ्गुं

शेङङी—(शेङङी)—शेयङी;

पारणा (the breaking of a fast)—पायणां.

This *utsarga* deals with internal changes in Gujarātī itself.

For a full discussion see my essay on *Jodani*, A. D. 1888, pp. 24-26; also my essay on *Jodani*, A. D. 1905, pp. 69-70.

These instances admit of a *रिच्य*, except in the case of *र* when it must always turn to *य*.

UTSARGA XXXI

The change of *स* to *च*, and *च* to *स*

स to *च*.

लालसा (Skr.)—लालच (G.);

आसक्ता (Skr.)—आसंवा (Pr.)—आपको (G.); (unless the word (आपको) be onomatopæstic).

च to *स*—

कंकती (°तिता)—Skr.,=a comb;—कांसकी (G.), through *ती* being heard as *ह्यी* and *ह्य* being changed to *च*.

कांसकी being the first step, then by *स्वरयय* it becomes वांसकी.

वांसकी is used in V. S. 1529. (See *supra* p. 428, 1 to Appendix A to Lecture IV, Section II). It is in vogue even now in Kāshīnāda.

Note:—The *स* sonod being allied to the Prākṛit sound of *च*, it is presmable that the *च* in the case of this *utsarga* must be the अर्धतालव्य sonod (dento-palatal), though it may subsequently assume the pure palatal sound, as in लालच. (In आपको it is dento-palatal.)

UTSARGA XXXII.

The change of *ज* to *न*

I find only one instance:—

वासाजः (Skr.)=वासजति, (an oblation of rice at *śraddha* or obsequies.)—वासनाज (G.).

Note:—The sound of *ज* here being pure palatal evolves *न*, not *स* (as it does in the case of दाज्यो from दाज्यो, where the *ज* is dento-palatal.)

UTSARGA XXXIII

The change of स to छ.

स, original or a phonetic evolutive, is changed to छ (dento-palatal).

Examples:—

स (original)—

अस्ति-असद्-अस्तद्-अच्छद्-अछद्-छद्-छे (G.).

स (evolutive)—

इमंभूः (Skr.)-मंभू (Pr.)-मूछ (G.); शावकः-छावो-छैयो;

मशकः-मसद्-मछर, मच्छर; पण्डकः-सट्ट-छट्टो;

शकटकं-सकटवं-छकटो; पद्-स-छ.

युक्तिः-सिप्पी-छीप;

Note:—(a) The छ in छीप is a pure palatal only because of the influence of the ई; in मूछ the छ is pure palatal for some unknown reason;

(b) The छ of पद् (पठः) and शावकः is found in Prākṛit itself (see *Si. Ht.* VIII-1-265), but it is really through a possible phonetic evolutive स under the general rule, दापोः सः (*Si. Ht.* VIII-1-260).

(c) This change of स to छ has been foreshadowed in an earlier part by me; (see *supra* p. 249, also p. 262).

UTSARGA XXXIV.

The change of छ to स

This is a reverse process, compared to that noted in the last preceding *utsarga*.

Examples:—

अञ्च (Skr.)-अच्छ (Pr.)-आंस (G.)=the axle of a cart;

पश्चात्तापकः (Skr.)-पच्छात्तावड (Ap.)-पस्तावो (G.);

तरङ्गः, तरङ्गुः (Skr.)-तरच्छ (Ap.)-तरस (G.)=a byena. (*Vide* p.

Note:—Marāṭhi has this process pre-eminently. (G.) वृड(वृ)-
मृडनं (M.); छोटु (G.)—सोटनं (M.); विचारपूत (M.)=questioning
(विचार=asking; पूत from वृच्छ् वृच्छ् (Pr.) also=asking), अय,
curiously, has आंय as well as आंस in M.; दृष्ट (Skr.)—उत्त (M.)—As
to ङ, Prākṛit soood, not existing in M. see *supra* p. 356, para 2
ooder (1).

UTSARGA XXXV

The change of त to क:

- (1) सप्तनी (Skr.)—सप्तनी-सप्तनी-सप्तनी (G.),
- (2) सापत्पकं (Skr.)—सापत्त (Ap.)—सापत्तं (G.),
- (3) भीतिः (Skr.) direct र्दीक (G.).

Notes:—

- (a) For my preference for सप्तनी over Dr. Bhīndārkar's
सप्तनी, see *supra* p. 89, n. 35. Also see *supra* p. 360,
iotaoco (21).
- (b) M. has सापत्त to express the meaning of सापत्तं (step-
relation); the र is an *dyama* under the influence of
St. III. VIII-ir-399, which is further worked out in
my *utsarga* I (about प्रयेय) in this section. (See *supra*,
pp. 433-4).

UTSARGA XXXVI

The change of त to न.

Examples:—

- (1) भाष्यं (Skr.)—अच्छरिह (Ap.)—अचरन, अचरन (G.);
- (2) रत्नं (Skr.)—रिह (Ap.)—रेन (Old G.)—रेन (G.);
- (3) अस्यं (Skr.)—direct—असरन—असरन (G.);

Foreign languages:—

- (4) नारीय (Arabic)—नारीय नारीय (G.) (amongst some classes);
Cl. नारीय (Sindhi).

Compare M. હુદરક from હુદ્દમ (Persian).

Notes:—

. *Example* (2) હેજ is used by Narasinha Mehta and others:

કાંઈક દુદિયામાં રોષ આપ્યો તજ્યું અમશું હેજ.

હેજ ધરીને આપ્યા આધાર જી.

Narasinha (*Chhatri chhatrisi*, Châtun XII.V. St. 8-9)

અતિ દીસિછિ તપનં તેજ,

પ્રાણીમાત્ર વિવિદ્ અતિ હેજ.

(Bhūlana's Kādambharī, Part I, Kadavun VI, l. 122).

હજ = *dear, beloved*. Then the adjective is turned into an abstract noun, meaning—the state which makes another dear, i. e. love.

Example (3) અકારત ગયું is an expression meaning—*became fruitless*.

UTSARGA XXXVII

The change of ઝ to જ

This change stands in a relation of parallel lines of correspondence (ચિન્નપ્રતિચિન્નમાત્ર) with the change of ર to ન; the latter set being dentals and the former being cerebrals, and ર and ઝ, and ન and જ being mutually related by evolution.

For this important relationship I place this as an *utsarga* by itself, although I have only one instance fully answering to the rule. It is કોમલકં (Skr.)—કુંભલકં (Ap.)—કુંભલકં-કુંજી (G.), which has a further evolve, but an alternative one, in કુંજી.

[કુંજી-કુંજી-કુંજી (n.), કુંજી-કુંજી (G.) may be compared significantly here, though the ઝ and જ in this case are collaterals and not related, one as the evolve of the other. See *supra*, P. 334. n. 94.]

UTSARGA XXXVIII

The change of व (and sometimes of ञ) to य.

The व (and some times ञ) of Sanskrit becomes य in Gujarātī.

Examples:—

व—

विषं (Skr.)—विस् (G.); उषा (Skr.)—भास्वा (G.);
 श्रेष्ठा (Skr.)—श्रेष्ठम (G.); हृषः (Skr.)—हृष्य (G.);
 घोषयति (Skr.)—गोषेले, वषं (Skr.)—वरस (G.); (in a limited sphere;
 otherwise वरस); वृषभः (Skr.)—वरस (G.) (as the name of the sign
 of the Zodiac, वृषभ); वेप. (Skr.)—भेस (G.) (a disguise or garment,
 especially of an ascetic); संतोष (Caus. Skr.)—संतोष्य (G.); संतोषः
 (Skr.)—संतोस (G.),—a proper noun; (through संतोष).

[(1) भेस primarily means वेप, garb; cf. Narasimha Mehta:—

कृष्णचरित्र गोपी करे, बिलसे राधा नार;

एक भई रणं वृत्तना, एक भई लु गोपाळ लाल;

एक भेस सुहृदको वीनो, तेणे वृणावत (१ वृणावतं) हरी लीनो;

एक भेस दामोदर धारि, तेणे जमला अर्जुन तारी;

(*Edisā-Sahasrapatti*, XIX, 5-7)

(2) The व in वेप gets a ह as a प्रत्यय, श्रेष, and this वृ becomes य, as in जीय from जिह्वा; or, व is changed to य (Hindi process) and then ह is interpolated as a संकर, and so भेस.

ञ—

दंष्टा (Skr.)—दंय (G.); also the verb दंष्ट.

Notes:—

(a) The case of दंय seems to be the result of a possible mistake of the palatal य् for the cerebral य् especially as दंय turns its palatal य् to the cerebral य् in some cases, e. g. दय (participle), and the like.

(b) The sound of य् as य् seems to date as far back as the Vedic period, at any rate since the traditions brought by the *Mādhyamajimi Śūtra* of the Śukla Yajurveda. whereunder य्, simple

the sound *r* for *ṛ* has existed continuously upto recent times in the Mādhyandina tradition. It is just possible to imagine the cause of this curious fact, viz: that in certain classes the special vocality of the people favoured this *r* sound and it clung to them.

A question may be asked. How could one and the same letter *ṛ* have represented two sounds so widely different as *ṛ* and *r*? The answer is clear. As a matter of fact *ṛ* did represent these two different sounds in the Mādhyandina Śākhā, (*ṛ* in *वृत्* and *वृषि*, but *r* in *वृत्त* &c. and also *ṛ* in other Śākhās and Vidas), well, if this was possible at that period, the phenomenon could with equal probability have manifested itself at the early period of the old Aryan. Nor are *ṛ* and *r* so wide apart after all. *ṛ* must have evolved the *r* sound and this latter (*r*) must have hardened into *r̥* (as Beames indicates the relation of *r̥* and *r̄*; Vol. I P. 262).

I cannot discuss this question at greater length here, but hope to do so in a separate article elsewhere. If possible. However, I may observe here that while Brugmann posits a conjectural source-word, *OKTOU* (also *OKTÓ*)³ for अर्त्त in the Indo Germanic parental language,—where the word is believed to be sounded as ओर्त्त, I posit a conjectural अर्त्त, and I believe the probabilities are more in favour of अर्त्त in the light of the *r̥* sound of *ṛ* in general in the Mādhyandina Śākhā.

End of Volume I

3. See Brugmann's "Comparative Grammar" translated by J. Keyser Conway and W. H. D. Rouse, Vol. I, §§ 77, 85, 151, 231.

ADDENDA

P. 85, n 31. Add —

(b) कुटुचि इयामणेः गोपक छेण्डवक् × × × ×

(Valabhi grant of Gnhasena, l 5 of Valsbhi *Samat* 268 or thereabouts)

Dr Buhler translates the above thus —

"the Knnbi Syamsnera, the herdsman Ohhendavaka"

(Ind Ant Vol V p 207, and P 206, Col 2.)

P. 127, n, 12 Add —

Also by the change of उ to ष when inflectional changes remove the accent from ष as in पाउत्त-पावत्तात्

Page 139. Item 7. Col 4

Where there is a blank—read वेरे

P. 195 After the last para about गृहक-पटु, -Add—

I learn that in Kathiawada पटु (sing) is still in use, but in a restricted and metaphorical sense, e g चक्षमांशु पटु (the case of a pair of spectacles), इवे प्रतिवृत्तौ (Panini V iii 96) operating here in a way

P 236. At the end after the instance वृत्-Add —

उद्+स्या उत्पितक वृद्धिभउ ऊउय वृ

[Note—Pr too has उट्ट (S. III VIII-17), though त्रिवि becomes ठा as well as चिट्ट under VIII-17-16, this latter *sūtra* 16 is rendered inoperative in the case of स्या with उद् because of the specific provision of उट्ट for स्या with वृत् in the former *sūtra*, 17 This may indicate that this process of forming roots backwards from चित्त forms has its distant source in Prakrit itself]

P. 263, n 110 Add—

It may be noted that अम् (VI) -e ह तेपे ते असत्ताम मी वेले असते, etc is derived not direct from अम् (Skr) but through the Pr अच्, changed later on to अट्

P. 273 after l 4 add —

Anantadeva in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Praty* i *Sūtra* II-5 (Benares Sanskrit series edition of the *Śūlā*-*apuh*-*Pratishāhya*

and appendices, p. 421) quotes the following verse from the *Mādhyandina-Śikshā* —

अपसदा यत्र दृश्यन्ते रेफेणाद्विषतमस्तथाः ।

स्वरं भर्त्तुं प्रयुज्जीत संयोगे नैव वारयेत् ॥

(I do not find this verse in the said *Śikshā* as published in the *Śikshā-Sangraha* (Benares Sanskrit Series) but in the *Laghu-Mādhyandina Śikshā*, in the same compilation at pp. 114-115 I find a different version of it—

रेफो रेफरमाप्नोति अपदेऽपरेषु च ।

ददर्श यथेर्द्वापि संयोगे नैव वारयेत् ॥

If Aoantadēva's quotation is accepted, स्वरं भर्त्तुं will go against my interpretation of स्वरमपि.

P. 274. at the end of (c) add:—

Ohoda (III-80) covers all necessary vowels by the term इहस्वरः (संयोगस्फोटस्वराममो मत्पे ॥).

P. 274 before the last two lines:— Add:—

However, these sections (312-318) deal mainly with Anaptyxis in western languages and § 313 only incidentally mentions the full विच्छेद of Prākṛit, but not at all the Vedic *Śraṣṭhānti* or its instances. Brugmann's other work (translated into English by Conway and Rouse) in § 621 deals with anaptyxis, and under the heading *Sanskritisms*—"Medial anaptyxis made its appearance first in the Prākṛit dialects", and cites instances like हरित (हर्ष), पदुम (पद्म), क्षमरापि (क्षमराभि), मित्रेह (मित्रे), and only speaks of prothesis in Vedic, citing इहम्यति, इहम्ये, इह्य (also उह्य), उलोह (also लोह), adding the remark "these forms were probably taken from some vulgar dialect". But nowhere, so far as I can ascertain does the work mention the Vedic *Śraṣṭhānti*.

P. 285. At the close of the Note A on स्वरमपि add:—The *Śikshā*s give details about स्वरमपि, minutely than the *Prākṛit*. (See Dr. Keithorn's article, "Remarks on the *Śikshā*s", *Ird. Ant.* V, pp. 142 ff. ; p. 143, col. 2 and n. *)

P. 281. after para 1, under II.

Add:—

[मातृप्वसा (Skr.)-मातृस्तिष्ठा (Pr.)-मातृशी (M.) also pointedly illustrates *prati-samprasāraṇa*.]

P. 282, (V) add:—

Dr. Tessitori ("Notes", § 141, (2)) regards उयावद् as the cansal of लीङ् (=लेङ्) by the addition of आप्. He is obviously on the wrong tack.

P. 307. At the end—add:—

I have stated at p. 304, n. (middle) that the change of sense in the word *Cava*, *cavea*, from "hollow" to "a cave" does not involve a great wrench. Since I wrote the above I found incidental support in Max Muller's "Science of Language," Vol: 1, pp. 429-30 where he says:—"Cavna, or hollow is a secondary not a primary idea. Before a cave was called *cavea* a hollow thing. many things hollow had passed before the eyes of men. Why then was a hollow thing, or a hole, called by the root *Cav*? Because what had been hollowed out was intended at first as a place of safety and protection, or a cover, and it was called therefore by the root *ku* or *sku* which conveyed the idea of to cover." My derivation, गुप् to protect and गुह् to hide runs so very close to this that I am tempted to ask—could Ku have any connection with गुह्, गुप्, and the obsolete गुम् postulated by me? Or, why could we not accept गुम् the parent of गुप् and गुह् in preference to this *sku* or *ku*? I place these suggestions with all deference.

P. 316. This *anusūdra* was unknown to Sanskrit.

I should modify this statement. The strength of the nasalized *ṣ* in तौलोकान् as pointed out *infra* pp. 328-9, n. 91, may be regarded as due to the conjunct *ṣ*, and the *anusūdra* can be viewed as weak. But further than this we have the foreshadowing of the weak *anusūdra* in the Vedic sounds known as रंग or रक्त vowels. (Rik-Prātijākhyā, I-17; where *Uśaṣa* illustrates by महौ इन्द्रो नृवधः and I-29 speaks of a रक्त वकार which *Uśaṣa* illustrates by ऊर्यै.) Pāṇiniya *Silshā* has:—

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तर्कं इत्यभिभाषते ।

पत्रं रद्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः तेभ्यो इव खेदया ॥

Gloss:—सौराष्ट्रदेश उत्पन्ना स्त्री तत्रविद्यार्थे यथा तत्रां इति कांस्यप्यविसमं भाषण एव वेदेऽपि रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः । येदे उदाहर्य दर्शयति । ये अरौ इव रोदयेति ॥

(see *Plg-Vêda*, VIII-77, 3).

The gloss is from a commentary on the *Sarra-Samvata-Sikshâ*, obtained by Dr. Keilhorn from Mahisur.

(See Dr. Keilhorn's article, "Remarks on the *Sikshâs*", Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 142 n. f).

Thus this weak nasal, which flourishes luxuriantly in Apabhramśa and modern vernaculars, has its distant source in Vedic phonology.

I need not deal with the several varieties of this nasalized vowel described in the *Amoghārandinī Śikshâ* (41 to 46), such as अतुरङ्ग, मदुरङ्ग, अतिरङ्ग and five kinds of रङ्ग, viz. पात, निपात, यमी, अदिण and प्रदिण.

P. 330.

(a) After *gustation from Śīlātīno-Rīsa* add:—

एक अनुदाण उपाण

(*Kāṇhaśat-Praśandhu*, 1-161)

(b) After औपणु-भापडे add.—

मदनफलं (Skr.)-मयणदल (Ap.)-मणदल-मीड

(=the fruit of a tree, which, strung in a red string, is tied round the wrist of the bride and the bride-groom).

The ई evolved from ण here leaves the nasal with the preceding ई and unites with the following र into र.

P. 330, after l. 4 add:—रोमके (Skr.)-रंङ्ग (G.).

P. 330, lower half, after (a) add:—

रमणु, तमणु can be traced to द्विगुणकं, त्रिगुणकं; रिउणकं, तिउणकं, विउणकं, निउणकं; the ण then changing to म.

P. 773; after the rule *He parā desāṃ* with अदू, add:—

We can take the principle farther back to the pre-Sanskrit period. If *organa*, (L.) be accepted as allied to रजम (Skr.).

wherein the first syllable of their common ancestor got dropped in the Sanskrit word, being unaccented.

P. 385. At the close of *utsarga XII*, add:—

This process occasionally operates in द्विरक्त compositions, e. g. चारचार-चच्चार.

P. 409. After अयारे add:—

The double त्त in अत्तआरद् in getting reduced to a single त्त transfers its strength to the य, as it were.)

P. 411. under the list (a) add:—

परीक्ष् परिक्ष् पारख्डं,
अरक् अरड आरो (the spoke of a wheel)

[आरः Skr. is rare.]

P. 441. *Utsarga VII*. In the examples, add-ईयर (Skr.)-दिपर (G.).

Page 444. At the end add:—

(This process is anticipated in Prākṛit in the rare change of Skr. वृक्ष to Pr. रक्ख (St. H. VIII-ii-127); the °क्ख of सद्वृक्ष and वृक्ष presents a common feature; and as in the case of सद्वृक्ष there is no other possibility than the elision of व् first, I see a similar process in the case of वृक्ष as well,—viz. the elision of व् first and then the change of क् to र. This being my view, I am not inclined to agree with Dr. Gune's analysis of रक्ख (from वृक्ष), viz: meta-thesis of व् and क् and then *Samprasāraṇa* of व्; (his *Introduction to Comparative Philology* p. 26, para 2).

P. 446. *Utsarga XIII*

Add to the examples:

प्रावरणकं-पावरणडं-पाउरणडं-उपरणु.

P. 448. under *Interchange of vowels*, add:—

जानवर (Pers.)—जनावर (G.) as some persons write and speak; e. g.

“जान जनावरनी मळी, मेपाडंवर गात्रे”.

(*Bāla-garabācali*; *Navalarām*)

ADDENDA

(Supplementary)

P. 64, आरिया-आभेस

Professor Soares, after the conclusion of a paper read by him before the B B R A Society on 27th October 1921 on "The Influence of Portuguese on Indian Languages" said, in answer to an inquiry by me that आरिया was from Portuguese, but आभेस was not. I asked "could it be from Arabic?", and another member said "it might be from Arabic". Arabic *habas*=he held back (Steingass' Arabic-English Dictionary) would be near the mark, I believe.

P. 97 III Distinction

It is interesting to note that these very forms करियह and परिग्रह furnish the Gujarati language with other two modes. परिग्रह gives करिये as a directive advisory form, e.g. आम करिये, समझ्या? This sense may be deducible from the first personal plural present indefinite (करिये) while करिग्रह gives करजे (first tense, imperative, second personal singular form तु आम करजे, whereas करिग्रह (3rd person singular) yields the plural form in the same mood and tense—करजे (तुम आम करजे).

P. 131, n 14, l. 3 Add —

अर्थात् is used by Mr. Nannalal D. Kavi also in his poem—
समस्तजने, 111-4 —

अनेकी वस्तु एक राज्य समझ्यान आ

P. 250, latter half.

I cannot find the full quotation अउमेस वा पिदेस वा &c. in Weber's *Fragments from Bhagavata*, l. 411.

P. 252; last line but one

√accha gam(*) 757"

Note — Weber's *Fragments from Bhagavata*, p. 411 has—
a. kya (gasket). Here he gives up the conjectural attitude adopted in his index to *Hita* and becomes affirmative, though I doubt the correctness of his affirmation.

P. 251, n. 101—add—

True, *Si-Hi*. VIII.iv-367 has also an instance (कज्जे कवणेन= केन कायेण) where कवण agrees with a noun (कज्ज) in the neuter gender. But I think कवण in its strict application was masculine (then, feminine), and it gradually got a wider scope including the neuter gender through laxity of idiom, as it first included the feminine gender and then the neuter gender.

P. 332. l. 9.

Note:—This phonetic phenomenon is noticed and accounted for in a slightly different manner by Dr. Peile, (*Vide his Philology. Literature Primer*, Mac Millan & Co; Chap. I, pages 85, 86). Amongst the instances cited there are—

humble (Eng.) from *humilis* (Lat.);

chamber (Eng.) from *Camera* (Lat.);

thunder (Eng.) from *thunor*.

His explanation is this—

"Let a portion of the breath be retained in the mouth after that which passes through the nostrils is spent; when the tongue is removed and the breath passes out, an unintended *d* is produced."

"The *b* has slipped in when the mouth opens after sounding *m*, before the following *l*; the position for sounding *b*, and *m* being the same, just as we saw it was the same for *n* and *d*."

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 वडुं 243, n. 99.
 वळवद 78.
 वळवुं 229.
 वेत 463.
 वीलो 180,

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA

| Page | Line | Incorrect | Correct |
|------------|----------------------|---|--|
| Preface:—v | 6 | IV | VII |
| " | 7 | V, VI & VII | IV, V & VI |
| 2 | 4 from the bottom | obvious, the | obvious. The |
| 26 | 7 | all | none |
| 40 | 17 | G. R | R. G. |
| 46 | 16 | land. | land, on the other. |
| 47 | n. 35, l. 8 | la | ए la |
| 54 | n. 40 last line | sukh | sukharāms |
| 56 | n. 45 l. last but | | |
| | one | तेवतेवदी | तेवतेवदी |
| 58 | last but one | Anayas | Anayas, Anayas, (Century Dictionary). |
| " | n. 47 l. 5 | anassa | anassa |
| " | " l. 6 | ananas | nanas |
| 73 to 88 | Top heading. | Historical and other forces—working on language | Phonetic forces affecting language. |
| 76 | 2 from the bottom | उद्यः | उद्यः |
| 77 | 19 | मयंवरम | मयंवरम |
| 84 | 1 | | omit उवासा |
| 85 | n. 31 (b) | वृषिक | वृषिक |
| " | " (c) l. 1 | पेसमां | पेसमां |
| 90 | n. 36, l. 4 | formed | found |
| 103 | n. 49 l. 24 | तते च यरेणो ॥ | ताने चये रेणो ॥ |
| 107 | 24 | पुसक | पुसक |
| 108 | last but one | देषिक | देषिक |
| 116 | 6 | हं | हं |
| 117 | 11 | हं पारो | हं पारो |
| 123 | 12 | भरण | रण |
| 128 | 11 | (2) | Expand this (2) |
| 129 | 18 | (1) Under... | (A) Under .. |
| 132 | n. l. 21 | अनागा (II.) | अनागा (II.) |

| Page | Line | Incorrect | Correct |
|------|-----------------|------------------|--|
| 134 | 20 | कयर | कयर |
| " | 22 | झयर | झयर |
| 135 | n. 15 l. 10 | सिरिसं | सिरिसं |
| 152 | last | दिभउं | हइअउं |
| 162 | marginal note | | put (5) before "Sir George," and separate the sentence into a para by itself. |
| 163 | 11 | 107 | 167 |
| " | 13 | ए | ऐ |
| 184 | 9 | विधो | विधौ |
| 193 | 5 | डेओ (+क) (=ह) | डेओ + (क) } (=ह) } + (क) |
| 210 | last | कीरय | रीरय |
| 216 | last para l. 5 | Pr. | Ap. |
| 219 | 22 | नगारह् | नगारेह् |
| 236 | 23 | Pr. | Ap. |
| 238 | 19 | 17 | 18 |
| 244 | 5 | आप् | आव् |
| 251 | 13 | आण | आणे |
| 256 | n. 104 l. 1 | न+अस्थि | न+अस्ति |
| 257 | 7 and elsewhere | Bhojpuri | Bhojapur |
| 259 | 12 | नस्थि | अस्थि |
| 260 | 13 | अस् | आस् |
| 260 | 25 | स् | अस् |
| 263 | 12 | प इ | पउइ |
| " | n. 110 l. 4 | कोऽधः | कोऽर्थः |
| " | " " | दुर्वम् | दुर्वन् |
| 266 | 13 | has | was |
| 268 | item 19 | यक्रकं | यक्रकं |
| " | l. 25 | tben संपाड | tben संपड |
| 270 | " | बडावो | बडावो |

| Page | Line | Incorrect | Correct |
|------|--------------------|---|--|
| 272 | 28 | caaura | caaura |
| " | 33 | Śrautarin | Śrautarin |
| " | " | pūruṣa | puruṣa |
| 285 | 11 | वेच | वेचः |
| 286 | after l. 5 | | add:—संमुद्रकं संमुद्रकं द्वादशं |
| " | 18 | भेग | भेग |
| " | n. 8 | हे | ह |
| 287 | n. 9 l. 8 | पण्णो | पण्णो |
| " | " " | P. 23 | P. 128 |
| 289 | 18 | arrested. | arrested), (After that change paragraph) |
| 291 | last | Note | Note below (18), |
| 295 | n. para last l. 2 | medial | mediae |
| 303 | 8 | | make a separate para beginning with "Deames" |
| 304 | n. 28 l. 9 | गुह | गुहा |
| " | " l. 28 | लुह | लुह |
| 308 | 14 | लृ | लृ |
| 310 | | | |
| 315 | l. 1 | under च add:—भाषमनी (Skr.) भाषमनी (G.) | |
| | | (फलाहार...फराह) this instance should be placed at P. 314, just below माहाराष्ट्रः | |
| " | n. 56 l. 1 | यगदि | यगदि |
| 318 | after l. 8 | | add-निम्ब निम्ब, दीर्घ |
| " | n. 56 l. 12 | वृषकः | वृषकः |
| 320 | 14 | उदिभा | उदिभा |
| " | 15 | इदिभा | इदिभा |
| 321 | 14 | lengthened | lengthened, and the averted-a is strong |
| " | marginal note l. 3 | vowel | averted |
| 324 | 28 | चपूरो | चपूरो |
| " | n. 67 | | (This note should be transferred to p. 325) |
| 327 | 17 | व | व |
| 328 | 6 | व | व |
| 329 | 7 | ह | ह |

| Page | Line | Incorrect | Correct |
|------|--------------------------------|--|--|
| 333 | 19 | ii-106). after this add- | सिम्बली |
| " | 20 | for म्ल-मम-मप read म्ल-मिमल-म्विल; मम- | मम-म्व. |
| 334 | n. 94, tree. l. 2 | हुंवी | वृहुंवी |
| 339 | n. 102 l. 6 | and | त and |
| 343 | 10 | चेलो | चेलो, चर्क (=itching sensation), चर्न, |
| 352 | 6 from bottom | अस्पष्टता | अस्पष्टता |
| " | 8 " " | हंपस्पष्ट | हंपस्पष्ट sound. |
| 355 | 24 | Dirār | Bihār. |
| 360 | 1 | III | VIII |
| 361 | 11 | statement | belief |
| 362 | 6 | वणचरउं | वणपरउं |
| 364 | n. 126, l. 2 | हुंहुं | हुंहुं |
| 365 | n. 127 l. 6 | स्वान | स्वान |
| " | " l. 7 | इन्त | इन्त |
| 372 | 22 | after उच्छिष्टके (Skr.); add as under:— also दूहा (=a bridegroom) for Skr. उद्दकः, Pī. उद्दभो; (see Dr. Dhāṇḍārkar's Lectures, P. 165); | |
| 377 | 21 | W. Rāj. | O. W. Rāj. |
| 388 | 1 | (तेदु) | ((तेदु) |
| 390 | n. l. 24 | जिह्वा | जिह्वा |
| 398 | after last line of text, add:— | परीध् परिकम् परा(ध्), पारघ(ध्) | |
| 408 | 2 | ममचारी | ममचारी |
| 413 | 6 from bottom | of this para (a) of the utsarga | of para (a) of this utsarga |
| 416 | last but one | वा | वा |
| 443 | Utsarga IX, Note (b), l. 2 | तदने | तेदने |
| 449 | 1 | पीराही | पीराहीन |
| 469 | 5 from bottom | 265 | 275 |
| 471 | 8 from bottom | 778 | 378 |